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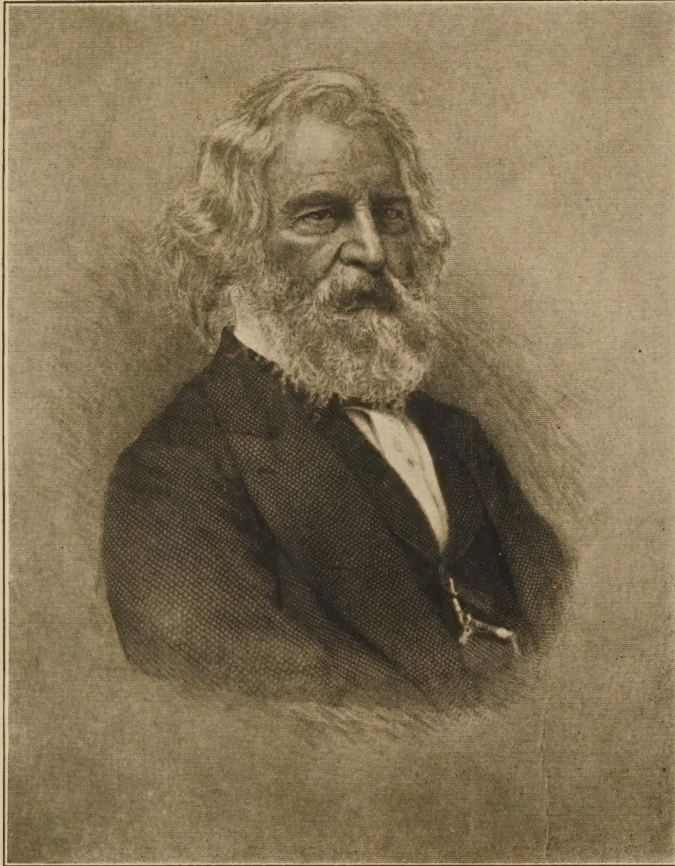
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HENRY W. LONGFELLOW

AMERICANA

January, 1915

Rhode Island Settlers on the French Lands in Nova Scotia in 1760 and 1761

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, D. C. L.

"Still stands the forest primeval; but under the shade of its branches
Dwells another race, with other customs and language."

—LONGFELLOW.

AN episode of New England history that has hitherto been only slightly touched upon by writers in the United States, or even in Canada, is the very considerable migration from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, to the maritime province of Nova Scotia, shortly after the tragical expulsion of the Acadians in 1755. In the issue of *Americana* for December, 1913, the writer of this article gave a lengthy sketch of the career of an extraordinary man named Alexander McNutt, who between 1759 and 1766 made heroic but for the most part futile efforts to settle the depopulated lands and the yet uncultivated parts of the beautiful province that for a century and more after its first colonization by the French, had borne the musical name Acadia. In the same writer's recent "History of King's County, Nova Scotia, Heart of the Acadian Land," and in a paper on the settlement of Colchester County, Nova Scotia, published still later, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, many details are given of the conspicuous migration from New England of which we have spoken. McNutt's enthusiasm for the Nova Scotia lands, and his glowing visions of widespread settlements thereon, were shared to the full by many groups of New Englanders as soon as the proclamation was issued inviting settlement in this historic British possession, and by the close of 1761 the province was richer in popu-

lation by some ten thousand souls, probably, than it had been at the beginning of 1759.

With a rapidly increasing varied population, active in all the great enterprises that engage the attention and stimulate the powers of modern men, spreading today enthusiastically throughout the several provinces of the Dominion of Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific, it is as interesting as it is necessary to recall in detail the first permanent British settlement of any part of Canada. Thirty-three years before the first bands of American Loyalists, all Britons to the core, began to occupy the rich unsettled country along the Bay of Quinté and in the Niagara peninsula, the province of Nova Scotia welcomed to the shores of its Chebucto Bay the very earliest group of permanent British settlers in the whole Dominion. In 1749, the Hon. Edward Cornwallis brought out the English colony that established the town and fortress of Halifax, which as a civil and military stronghold it was intended should henceforth serve as a bulwark against French aggression in eastern America, and, in counterpoise to Louisburg, as a strong strategic centre from which necessary defensive, or if need be offensive, warlike operations, might be carried on. The capture of Fort Beauséjour, in Nova Scotia, and the forcible removal of the French population in general from this province, both occurred, it will be remembered, in 1755, and the final seizure of Louisburg in 1758, and the historic fall of Quebec in 1759, at last gave England supreme control in Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and Canada, and brought the long desired day of opportunity for permanent British settlement in these provinces fully to dawn.

When the removal of French influence from Nova Scotia was fully accomplished, the Governor and Council of the Province, as we have intimated, made public proclamation in New England of their desire to give large grants to New England families willing to emigrate, and the result was that before the end of 1761 many Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island towns had witnessed the removal of numbers of their best inhabitants to this ancient province by the sea. In this New England migration began the modern settlement of the beautiful Nova Scotia country that borders Minas and Annapolis Basins, and Chignec-

to Bay, and that stretches to the interior for many miles from the picturesque wave-washed southeastern Atlantic shore. That no other single British migration into any part of Canada, at any time, has so powerfully and with such lasting results influenced the destiny of British America we believe may safely be asserted. Even the great Loyalist migration of 1776 to 1784, large as it was, we cannot regard as having such permanent influence on Canada as this pre-Revolutionary exclusively New England settlement in Nova Scotia in 1760 and 1761.

Hants County, Nova Scotia, with the adjoining county of Kings, and perhaps part of Annapolis, may be said to constitute what has long been currently known as the "Garden of Nova Scotia." King's and Hants Counties, rich in agricultural products, covered now with glorious apple orchards, whose blossoms in June are veritable

"Banks of bloom on a billowy plain,"

border the blue Basin of Minas, and seem to claim the special protection of the white-mist-wreathed cliff, Blomidon, which rears its head like a tall turbanned sheik at the entrance of the Basin and watches in somnolent silence the daily rush, forward and backward, of the never ceasing currents of Fundy's tireless tides. King's County was settled chiefly from eastern Connecticut, as Cumberland, Annapolis, Queen's and part of Shelburne were from Massachusetts, but Hants County received its fine population in very great part from the pleasant State of Rhode Island, a little less than two decades, however before Rhode Island became a State. Hants County lies east, west and south along the Avon river, a stream which flows into Minas Basin; it is intersected also by the rivers St. Croix, Hebert, and Kennetcook. In French times part of the county was a region of indeterminate extent known as Pisiquid, and Judge Haliburton, a distinguished native of the county, in his well known History of Nova Scotia, tells us, as we know from many other sources, that it was a part of Acadia held in great estimation by the *habitants*, who valued, as they might well do, its priceless alluvial dykelands, some portions of which they inclosed from the sea, and

its rich upland meadows, on which they raised fine crops of wheat and other grains, in part for the eager Bostonians, whose bread-needs afforded them the nearest markets they had.¹ At the time of the Acadian deportation, as Lieutenant-Colonel John Winslow's journal shows, Pisiquid occupied with Minas the chief place in the attention of the authorities at Halifax, and Captain Alexander Murray, who held command at Fort Edward, the little fort which had been erected five years before at what is now the town of Windsor, was for some time in constant communication with Winslow at Minas, to whom he made frequent **detailed reports** of the progress of his measures for capturing **the unfortunate** Pisiquid French. It was within the confines of this Pisiquid fort, indeed, that the two commanders together drew up the fatal proclamation from the King informing the terrified people in both Hants and Kings that it was the government's settled purpose to exile them permanently from their homes.²

The establishment of townships within the limits of the five first formed counties of Nova Scotia slightly antedates the erection of the counties. The oldest townships of King's County, Horton and Cornwallis, were established (though the first grants were nullified in 1761) on the 21st of May, 1759, while Falmouth, the oldest of the townships that later came to form Hants County, was set apart on the 21st of July, 1759. The County of King's was erected by the Council on the 17th of August, 1759, its limits embracing besides the present King's, a corner of Lunenburg, almost if not quite the whole of Hants, more than a third of Colchester, and about half of Cumberland. Little by little the county was reduced in size, until by the cutting off of Parrsborough in 1840, and the distribution of this township between Colchester and Cumberland, only the present territory remained to King's. The History of King's County, that is, chiefly the present

1. See "An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia," by Judge Haliburton (1829), p. 100. The name Pisiquid, which the French gave the region is also spelled Piziquet, Pigiquit, Piziquid, Pizequit and Pizaquid. Judge Haliburton says this name, in its various spellings, is an Indian word signifying the junction of two rivers (the Avon and St. Croix).

2. By the early part of November, 1755, Lieut. Col. Winslow had sent off, in nine vessels, 1,510 Acadians of the Minas and River Canard districts, while Captain Murray's activity had resulted in the deportation of 1,100 persons, "in four frightfully crowded transports," from the district of Pisiquid.

King's, was published, as we have said, by the writer of this paper, in a large volume in 1910,³ but since Falmouth and its sister townships, Newport and Windsor, were in 1781 removed from King's and organized as Hants, the history of these townships is but slightly touched upon in that book. The writer's present purpose, therefore, is to give somewhat in detail the story of the settlement, in large part from Rhode Island, of the Hants County townships of Falmouth and Newport, and to record some important facts concerning the peopling of the third early Hants township, the inhabitants of which were of rather more varied origin, the township of Windsor.

In the late spring or early summer of 1781, the three then King's County townships we have just mentioned petitioned to be erected into an independent county, and on the 17th of June of that year, the Governor and Council granted their petition. A Council minute of this date says: "On the memorial of the Inhabitants of the towns of Windsor, Falmouth, and Newport, praying the said towns may be erected into a separate county, owing to the distance between said towns and Horton, the county town in King's County, which creates great difficulty to the inhabitants and expense to them in crossing the Rivers to attend the county business, whereupon it was resolved that the said Townships of Windsor, Falmouth, and Newport, and the lands contiguous thereunto, be erected into a County to be known by the name of the County of Hants." In the Crown Land Office in Halifax we find the following description of Hants County's bounds:⁴ "Beginning at the bounds between Horton and Falmouth, Pizaquid River now called Avon, thence to run South 30 degrees East [words missing] Thence in a Right line to the Bridge on Shubenacadie River, Thence to Run down the Shubenacadie River passing through the lake commonly called the Grand Lake to the mouth or Confluence of that River with Colchester Bay. Thence down the said Bay and up the River Avon

3. This volume, which comprises, with a carefully made index, over 900 pages, was published by the Salem Press, Salem, Massachusetts, late in 1910.

4. Crown Land Description Book 4, folio 112. Hants County covers an area of 786,560 acres, the adjoining county, King's, of 552,960. The present population of Hants is reported to be (in 1911) 19,703; of King's, 21,780. In religion Hants has 5,742 Presbyterians, 4,218 Methodists, 3,722 Baptists, and 3,631 Anglicans.

to the bounds first Mentioned." How the name Hants came to be given the county, whether some one or more of the important early grantees of Windsor may have had a special interest in the English Hants and requested it, or whether the name was chosen by the Council at Halifax, we cannot now tell.

The townships regularly organized and existing within the limits of Hants county in 1781, as we have seen, were but three, but in time three others were more or less formally created: Rawdon, bounded by Douglas on the north and east, and Newport on the south and west, on the 3d of August, 1784; Douglas, which included the Kennetcook river, the Five Mile river, the Nine Mile river, and the land along their courses, together with the Gore settlements, also in 1784; and Kempt, a region comprising 80,000 acres, which adjoined Maitland to the west and bordered on the Basin of Minas, east of the mouth of the Avon, (though much earlier settled) not until 1825.

On Johnston's topographical map of Canada, published in 1874, Maitland also is given as a township, but in Judge Haliburton's description of Hants County, Maitland, bordering on Cobequid Bay and the Shubenacadie river, is properly included in Douglas. The scope of the present paper forbids any lengthy description of the settlement of the last three of these acknowledged Hants County townships, but of the settlement of two of them, Rawdon and Douglas, a few words may here be said.^{4½} The extent of Rawdon was 24,000 acres, and the first settlers were soldiers who had served under Lord Rawdon, afterward Marquis of Hastings, in South Carolina, in the war of the American Revolution. It was thus, of course, that the township received its name. The township of Douglas was bounded on the north and east by Cobequid Bay and the river Shubenacadie, south by the county of Halifax, and west by Rawdon and Newport, the extent of its territory being 105,000 acres. Douglas was granted (in 1784, as we have said) to Lieutenant Colonel Small,^{4¾} for the

^{4½}. In appendix No. V we have given a list of the Rawdon grantees.

^{4¾}. Lieut.-Col. John Small, born in Scotland in 1726, entered the 42d Highland regiment, as ensign 29 August, 1747, and as lieutenant served in America under Abercrombie, and in the West Indies. He received his captaincy in 1762. June 14, 1775, he was commissioned major to raise a corps of Highlanders in Nova Scotia to serve in the Revolution. With this force, we suppose, he served at the battle of Bunker Hill. Later he was appointed major commanding the 2d battalion

location of the disbanded Second battalion of the 84th regiment, which he had commanded under Sir Henry Clinton in New York from 1779. Of the township of Kempt, Judge Haliburton says: "The upland here is indifferent, and the interval was the principal attraction to the first inhabitants, who were Americans that had enlisted in the 84th regiment while it was stationed on Long Island, New York.⁵ In 1879 the county of Hants was divided for purposes of representation and local government into two municipalities, and the ancient township divisions technically disappeared.

Details like these are tiresome, but they are necessary to be remembered if we would know fully the story of the settlement from Rhode Island in Nova Scotia in 1761. Since the time of the Revolution, when the Nova Scotia government by strong, determined measures kept the province under its control from joining, as a large portion of its people would have been willing to have it do, in the movement for independence, the province-by-the-sea has been to United States people a foreign country, but from the establishment of the colony of Massachusetts Bay until the Revolution, Nova Scotia was in close alliance with Massachusetts, and, through all the political changes the Acadian province underwent, to the time of the complete destruction of French power within its borders, the Massachusetts authorities kept its interests closely at heart. A chapter of local history that has never fully been written but that offers an interesting field for searchers among the records of the past is the story of the mild adventures of the little garrison at Annapolis Royal from the capture of this historic fortress by Nicholson in 1710 to the establishment of civil government at Halifax and the removal of the chief military power to that place, in 1749. The record of land-granting in Nova Scotia from 1759 to the end of the Revolutionary period in America is another subject that has in it also distinct elements of romance, but land granting in

of the 84th Royal Engineers, with part of which in 1779 he joined the army under Sir Henry Clinton at New York. In 1780 he was made lieut.-col., 18 Nov., 1790, col., in 1793 Lieut.-Gov. of Guernsey, and 3 Oct., 1794, major-general. He died in Guernsey, 17 March, 1796. See Dict. of National Biography and Appleton's Encyclopoedia of Am. Biography.

5. These settlers were probably part of the troops under Col. Small's command in the Revolution.

the province began while the Annapolis garrison still exercised control over the wild lands of the province, and indeed over the tilled farms of the industrious French, for on the 13th of November, 1735, Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence Armstrong, who was chief in the garrison, announced to his councillors "that having had two Scrawls of Grants from Mr. Secretary, vizt., One for Lands to be granted at Chiconito [Chignecto], and the other for lands to be also granted at Menis or Piziguet, he thought it necessary to lay the matter before the board for their consideration." The grants were then given, in 1736, the Governor and Council deciding that the "Township" to be settled at Piziguet should be called "Harrington in the parish of Harrington,"^{5½} that each grant, at Chiconito or Piziguet, should comprise 100,000 acres, and that the grantees should be required to place on their grants a certain number of settlers, to make the grants operative. Undoubtedly the grantees, who were naturally members of the military government, Armstrong himself being one, were unable to fulfil the important condition requiring settlement of their grants, and in 1759, when the intending New England settlers in Hants County desired grants, the Council at Halifax, that ten years before had supplanted the Military Council at Annapolis Royal, announced that the earlier grants at "Piziguet" were no longer in force, for the grantees, Brigadier-General Richard Philipps, Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence Armstrong and "other official persons," had never fulfilled the terms of their grants, which therefore must now be formally escheated to the Crown.

THE TOWNSHIP OF FALMOUTH

The expulsion of the French from Nova Scotia in 1755, commemorated by Longfellow in his famous poem *Evangeline*, was a drastic measure that the Lords of Trade in England and the local authorities at Halifax at last came to feel necessary for the carrying out of an intention that at a much earlier time had, with more or less distinctness, taken shape in their minds, to

^{5½}. See Nova Scotia Archives (printed), Vol. 3, pp. 327, 328.

settle the province preponderatingly with people of British stock. The removal was accomplished,

—“on the falling tide the freighted vessels departed,
Bearing a nation, with all its household gods, into exile,
Exile without an end, and without an example in story,”

and when the French were gone and the government had leisure to carry out its own wishes and the wish of the Home Government, as also that of its neighbour colony of Massachusetts, in reference to British settlement of the province, the Nova Scotia Council in 1758, under direct instructions from England, adopted a proclamation relative to settling the vacant lands throughout the province, both those lands that had formerly been occupied and tilled by the French, and those that had never hitherto been settled at all. The proclamation stated that by the destruction of French power in Cape Breton and Nova Scotia the enemy who had formerly disturbed and harassed the province and obstructed its progress had been obliged to retire to Canada, and that thus a favourable opportunity was presented “for peopling and cultivating as well the lands vacated by the French as every other part of this valuable province.” Proposals for settlement, it was announced, would be received by Mr. Thomas Hancock of Boston, and Messrs. DeLancey and Watts of New York, and would be transmitted to the Governor of Nova Scotia, or in his absence to the Lieutenant-Governor, or the President of the Council.

The next step was to have the proclamation issued, and accordingly on the 12th of October, 1758, the Council caused it to be published in the *Boston Gazette*.⁶ As soon as the proclamation appeared the Boston agent was plied with questions as to what terms of encouragement would be offered settlers, how much land each person would receive, what quit-rent and taxes were to be exacted, what constitution of government prevailed in the province, and what freedom in religion settlers would be allowed. The result of these inquiries was that at a meeting of

6. It seems that posters or flyers were also printed, for Rev. Dr. John Forrest of Halifax has told the writer that he had one of these.

the Council held on Thursday, January 11, 1759, a second proclamation was approved, in which the Governor stated that he was empowered to make grants of the best lands in the province, that a hundred acres of wild wood-land would be given each head of a family and fifty acres additional for each person in his family, young or old, male or female, black or white, subject to a quit-rent of one shilling for every fifty acres, the rent to begin, however, not until ten years after the issuing of the grant. The grantees must cultivate or inclose one-third of their land in ten years, one-third more in twenty years, and the remainder in thirty years. No quantity above a thousand acres, however, would be granted to any one person. On fulfilment of the terms of the first grant the person receiving it should be entitled to another on similar conditions.

The lands on the Bay of Fundy were to be distributed "with proportions of interval plow land, mowing land, and pasture," which lands for more than a hundred years had produced abundant crops of wheat, rye, barley, oats, hemp, and flax, without ever needing to be manured. The government of Nova Scotia, it was declared, was constituted like that of the neighbouring New England colonies, the legislature consisting of a governor, a council, and an assembly. As soon as the people were settled, townships of a hundred thousand acres each, or about twelve miles square, would be formed, and each township would be entitled to send two representatives to the assembly. The courts of justice were constituted like those of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and other northern colonies; and as to religion, both by His Majesty's instructions and by a late act of the assembly full liberty of conscience was secured to persons of all persuasions, Papists alone excepted. Settlers were to be amply protected in their homes, for forts garrisoned with royal troops had already been established in close proximity to the lands proposed to be settled.⁷

The reponse to the Governor's proclamations, throughout New England was widespread and prompt. In April, 1759, a large number of persons in Connecticut and Rhode Island⁸ signified

7. See for virtually this same account, Eaton's "History of King's County," pp. 59-61.

8. The number is given as 330.

their intention, if the conditions were as favorable as had been represented, of removing to the country about the Basin of Minas left vacant by the departure of the French. Accordingly they sent as agents to confer with the Governor⁹ and personally view the lands five men, Messrs. (Major) Robert Denison, Jonathan Harris, Joseph Otis, and Amos Fuller, of Connecticut, and Mr. John Hicks of Rhode Island, all men of worth and standing in the towns where they lived. That these agents might be thoroughly informed concerning the lands about the Basin, the Council sent them in an armed vessel, with an officer of artillery and eight soldiers, the government surveyor, Mr. Charles Morris, accompanying the party, round the southern coast of the province and up the Bay of Fundy. At Grand Pré and Pisiquid they disembarked, in the latter district finding many of the houses and barns of the exiled French still standing.¹⁰ It was now about the middle of May and the rich dykes and uplands showing unmistakable signs of great fertility and in their early summer greenness so impressed the agents that as soon as they reached Halifax again they entered into an agreement with the Governor and Council to settle two townships, Horton, the French "Minas," and Cornwallis, the French "River Canard."

Two of the agents, Messrs. Hicks and Fuller, also laid before the authorities "some proposals for settling part of a township at Pisiquid, desiring that a sufficient quantity of lands there might be reserved for them until the last day of July next, by which time they proposed to return a list of the names of the persons whom they should engage as settlers."¹¹ In recognition of this proposal the Council resolved that lands lying on the north side of the river Pisiquid should be reserved for the

9. This was Colonel Charles Lawrence, who was appointed lieutenant-governor July 17, 1750, and was made governor July 23, 1756. He was energetic in the removal of the Acadians, and in the subsequent settling of the province from New England. He died in office on Saturday, October 11, 1760, and was succeeded in 1761 by Henry Ellis, Esq., who had been governor of Georgia. Lawrence's predecessors in the civil government of Nova Scotia were Col. the Hon. Edward Cornwallis and Col. Peregrine Thomas Hopson. A sketch of Governor Lawrence by Dr. Thomas B. Akenside will be found in vol. 2 of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

10. At Grand Pré and River Canard the buildings were almost without exception burned, in the district of Pisiquid for some reason Captain Murray left them standing.

11. The date of the Council meeting at which this proposal was made was May 21, 1759.

applicants and their associates, provided a list of the intending settlers should be presented on or before the last day of July of that year, and that the agents should engage to settle fifty families on or before the first day of September, 1760. The Council on its part promised that the settlers, when they should come, should receive all manner of protection and countenance from His Majesty's troops, and should have the same advantage in respect to transportation of themselves and their families, and their stock, as had been proposed in the case of the families intending to settle the townships of Horton and Cornwallis. At the Council meeting at which these declarations were made the grants of Horton and Cornwallis also were ordered to pass the seal of the province, and two months later, on the 21st of July, the township of Falmouth, covering a large part of the indeterminate region known as Pisiquid, and comprising 50,000 acres, was formally set apart.¹² On the 16th of July, as the Council minutes reveal, Mr. John Hicks, in pursuance of the agreement made by him and Mr. Fuller with the Council on the 21st of the preceding May delivered a list of the persons who proposed to settle Falmouth, and a grant of this third Minas Basin township was ordered to be made out. By the government surveyor, the three new townships were soon properly surveyed, but in each case the first grant was a little later rescinded. The reason for the withdrawal of these first grants we have nowhere seen officially stated, but it seems almost certain that it was chiefly because a considerable number of the first intending grantees changed their minds about coming to Nova Scotia, deciding to remain in their New England homes.

In a minute of Council of October 26, 1759, the fact is alluded to that some of the lands in Pisiquid, including part of Falmouth, had over twenty years before been granted to persons at Annapolis Royal and now had to be formally es-

12. Before the townships of Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth were organized, the following townships, and these only, existed in Nova Scotia: Halifax, Lunenburg, Dartmouth, Lawrence Town (in Halifax County), Annapolis Royal, and Cumberland. The limits of these six earliest townships were provisionally fixed by the Council, and representation in the Assembly given them, January 3, 1757. Nova Scotia Archives, Vol. I, pp. 718, 719. Falmouth was probably named in recognition of the famous Admiral Boscawen, 3rd son of Hugh, 1st Viscount Falmouth, and brother of Hugh, 2nd Viscount. Admiral Boscawen died January 10, 1761.

cheated before they could be granted to others. The minute reads: "Mr. Amos Fuller and others having made application for lands for a township situated on Pisiquid River, upon searching the old Records of the Province it appeared that a part of the said Lands had been granted away in the year 1736, to Brigadier General Richard Philipps, Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence Armstrong and others, and a copy of the Deed whereby the same were Granted being read and taken into consideration, the Council are of opinion that the Grantees have failed to perform the several conditions of the said Grant, and that the Lands are thereby forfeited to the Crown." They therefore advise the formal escheating of their lands, "that the crown may be enabled to grant the said lands to the above persons, who are desirous immediately to cultivate and improve them."

At the meeting of Council held on the 16th of July, 1759, when Mr. John Hicks presented his list of intending settlers, it was debated whether or not it would be better to transport the settlers from Connecticut that autumn to Horton and Cornwallis, or whether it would not be advisable and expedient to postpone their removal until the following spring, "on account of the French and Indians being more numerous and aggressive than previously." To settle the matter, Mr. Hicks was called in and asked his opinion. He gave as his judgment that the people would rather wait, whereupon the Council advised that arrangements for the transportation of the people for these townships should be deferred. Although Falmouth is not included with Horton and Cornwallis in this minute of Council concerning the postponement of the settlement of King's County, in a letter to the Lords of Trade of September 20, 1759, Governor Lawrence says: "As the reasons for postponing the Settlements of Minas, Canard and Pisiquid until the next Spring are fully explained in the Council records of July 16th, I need not repeat them here, but it may be necessary for your Lordships information to observe that tho' the Settlers grants run to 500 acres to a family, there are only 25, or thereabouts, of cleared Land in each Grant."

The actual migration from Rhode Island to Hants County seems to have begun early in the spring of 1760, for in May of

that year Governor Lawrence reports that forty families have come to settle "in the direction of Annapolis, Minas and Piziquid." In May the sloop *Sally*, Jonathan Lovett, master, is recorded to have brought from Newport, Rhode Island, to Falmouth, thirty-five persons, and the sloop *Lydia*, Samuel Toby, master, twenty-three more.^{12½} In a letter to the Lords of Trade of April 10, 1761, Lieutenant-Governor Belcher says: "The three Townships of Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth will have their compliment [sic] of settlers this spring, and a considerable addition will be made to Annapolis, Granville, and Liverpool, *and with little or no expence to the Government.*"¹³ July 2, 1762, he writes that since his "last address" many settlers have come to the townships of Barrington, Yarmouth, Truro, Onslow, and Newport, and have brought credentials with them of their industry and knowledge of husbandry.

The details of the movement in Rhode Island for settlement in Nova Scotia we are left in great measure to imagine. The proclamations of Governor Lawrence must have produced great excitement in many towns, and one of the chief topics of conversation about Narragansett Bay for many months must have been the offer of rich lands about the Bay of Fundy and Minas Basin to any reputable settler who would apply for lands. In his long letter to the Lords of Trade of December 12, 1760, Lieutenant-Governor Belcher says that great opposition had been manifested in New England (he says "on the Continent") to people's coming to Nova Scotia, but how general this opposition was or where it most manifested itself we have no means of knowing. The lands in Nova Scotia, Belcher declares had been depreciated in New England, and men had even been pressed into military service against the French to prevent their migrating. It is of course not an intentional omission on the part of local historians, but yet it seems strange that so

^{12½}. March 10, 1760, the Nova Scotia Council "did advise that His Excellency should as soon as may be take up such transports either here or at Connecticut as may be necessary to assist the Province Vessels in the transport of those Settlers who are to be brought at the Government's Expence."

¹³. In a letter to the Lords of Trade written November 3, 1761, Belcher says: "The Towns of Onslow and Truro in the District of Cobequid, of Cumberland in that of Chignecto, of Annapolis Royal and Granville, have been settled in the course of this summer with one hundred and fifty Families, by the return of the chief surveyor to me."

large a migration of prominent families from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island towns should have left so little record as it has done in New England history. In our History of King's County we have spoken of the slight though significant mentions made by Miss Caulkins and Macy in their histories respectively of New London and Norwich, and Nantucket, of the Connecticut and Nantucket Island migrations.^{13½} Arnold's History of Rhode Island tells us that there was "an extensive emigration from New England to Nova Scotia," probably in 1760, about a hundred persons going from the town of Newport alone.¹⁴ In Rhode Island court records of 1762, also, we find it stated that many of his Majesty's good subjects born in this colony had removed to other places. In 1729 Rhode Island had been divided into three counties, Newport, comprising the Islands with New Shoreham; Providence, including the town of that name, Warwick, and East Greenwich; and King's, including North and South Kingstown, with Westerly, the shire being South Kingstown; and from each of these original counties and from many towns in the counties important families embarked for the Nova Scotia shores. From Newport, Tiverton, Little Compton, Portsmouth, Middletown, Warwick, East and West Greenwich, and both the Kingstowns, it is probable, the Nova Scotia settlement was reinforced, but if we can judge from a casual tracing of the families who migrated it would seem that Newport, Little Compton, and the Kingstowns sent the most.

The expulsion of the Acadians, as we know, has stirred poetical imagination as few other incidents of American history have done, but the migration from New England also has had recent commemoration in verse, for the human interest in it is vital and strong. Of the coming of the Connecticut people from the port of New London, and the Rhode Island people from Narragansett Bay, to the regions of Grand Pré, Riviere aux Canards, and Pisiquid one poet has sung:

"They come as came the Hebrews into their promised land,
Not as to rocky Plymouth shores came first the Pilgrim band,
The Minas fields were fruitful, and the Gaspereau had borne
To seaward many a vessel with its freight of golden corn.

^{13½}. History of King's County, Nova Scotia, pp. 61, 62.

¹⁴. "History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations," by Samuel Greene Arnold (1860), Vol. 2, pp. 233, 494. The Rhode Island court record given above is also quoted by Arnold.

"They come as Puritans, but who shall say their hearts are blind
To the subtle charms of nature, and the love of human kind,
New England's rigorous creeds have warped their native faith, 'tis true,
But human creeds can never wholly Heaven's work undo,

"And tears fall fast from many an eye, long time unused to weep,
For o'er the fields lie whitening the bones of cows and sheep,
The faithful flocks that used to feed upon the broad Grand Pré,
And with their tinkling bells come slowly home at close of day."

But no poet can ever fully picture the emotions of any people, especially people of such fine mould as the Rhode Island people of this migration, in leaving loved old homes for permanent residence in lands that are to them utterly strange and new.

Of the vessels that brought the people from Rhode Island to Nova Scotia, and of the men who captained the ships, we have been able to gain some information.¹⁵ One of the captains who was most active in transporting the people was Captain John Taggart, who himself, with two mates, a pilot, a gunner, and eighteen men, at some time during the migration period commanded the brig *Snow*. Captain Taggart's services were highly commended by Mr. Belcher in a letter to the Lords of Trade of December 21st, 1760. Belcher writes: "As Captain Taggart has been very diligent and usefull on the Continent in assisting and promoting the Embarkation of the Settlements, I would beg leave to recommend his services to your Lordship's consideration." The total expense to the Government of Captain Taggart's services "in hiring vessels and transporting passengers," was £3,014.12.11¼, for which Taggart drew on Thomas Hancock, Esq., at Boston. A vessel that is conspicuously mentioned as bringing food for the settlers was the brigantine *Montague*, Captain Rogers, whose crew consisted of a mate, a pilot, and eighteen men. This vessel after unloading provisions for the people of Horton and Cornwallis, in her passage through the river Canard ran upon a bank of mud and was "overset so deep" that she became a total loss. To take her place a new vessel was purchased at a cost of five hundred pounds. Besides these vessels we have the sloop *Diamond*, Peter Rogers, master; the sloop *Dispatch*; the sloop *Dragon*, Joseph Normand, master;

15. More or less of this information we have gleaned from accounts appended to the Nova Scotia Governor Lawrence's correspondence concerning the settlement, with the English Lords of Trade.

the *Horton Packet*; the sloop *Lidia*, Jonathan Molony, master; the sloop *Lucy*, James Cox, master; the schooner *Monkton*, Solomon Tripp, master; the schooner *Norwich*, Packett (?) Trapp, master; the schooner *Pilot*, with a master and four men; the *Province Brig*, Captain Rogers; the sloop *Rain-Bow*, Jacob Hurd, master; the sloop *Sally* (either this vessel or another *Sally*, had as master Jeffrey Crossman), Jonathan Bardock, master; the sloop *Speedwell*, Seth Harding, master; the schooner *Warren*; the sloop *Wolfe*, Joseph Winship, master; the sloop *Yarmouth*; and the sloop *York*, Captain Cobb, with also a mate, a pilot, and eighteen men. We have also a record of William Rockville's carrying thirty-five settlers to Horton, at a charge of fifteen pounds.

The record of the first Falmouth grant will be found in Grant Book No. 2, pp. 28-32, in the Crown Land Office at Halifax. It reads as follows:

"A Grant made by His Excellency Governor Lawrence with the Advice and Consent of His Majesty's Council for this Province to John Hicks, Amos Fuller, and a Number of other Persons (hereafter named) whom they represented as their Committee, passed under the Seal of this Province Giving and Confirming unto them in the respective Shares hereafter specified the whole of a Tract of Land now erected into a Township by the Name of the Township of Falmouth Situate lying and being within the Bason of Minas on Pisiquid River, within the said Province of Nova Scotia, and is bounded North Westerly by the Township of Horton, and beginning at a Point of Land on said Pisiquid River, and running South Sixty Degrees West, measuring Eleven hundred and fifty Chains of four Rods to a Chain, Southwesterly on ungranted Lands running South Thirty Degrees East measuring five hundred and Sixty Chains, Thence North Sixty Degrees East to the River Pisiquid, measuring Four hundred and twenty Chains, and thence bounded by the said River according to the Course thereof to the Boundaries first mentioned containing in the whole by Estimation Fifty thousand Acres, be the same more or less according to a Plan and Survey of the same to be therewith registered.

"The Terms and Conditions on which this Grant is made are of

the same Tenor as those (of Horton, Cornwallis, etc.) already entered on this Book. The Land Granted to be Improv'd or Inclos'd, Hemp raised; The Quit Rent to be paid; and The Premises not suffered to be alienated without License, as in the Said Grants.

“Fifty of the said Grantees with their Wives, Children, Servants, and Stock are to remove and settle themselves on the said Tract of Land on or before the thirty-first Day of May next, otherwise the Grant to be entirely void & of none effect. But if performed & fulfilled to be good valid & effectual to the said fifty. But in Case any of the remaining Grantees shall not remove and Settle on the said Premises as aforesaid on or before the first Day of September One thousand seven hundred & Sixty then the Grant to every Grantee so failing to be null and void & their Right or share to revert to the Crown, etc.

“SIGNED SEALED AND DATED AT HALIFAX in the said Province this Twenty first Day of July in the Thirty third Year of His Maj'ys Reign, Anno Domini One Thousand Seven hundred and fifty nine.”

The grantees' names, in the order in which they are given, are as follows: Amos Fuller and John Hicks, half a share each; Benjamin Corey, Jeremiah Trescutt, Edward Cole, Jeremiah Cook, Elisha Parker, and William Nevil Wolseley, one and a half shares each; William Piggott, Alexander Phelps, Esq., Samuel Gilbert, Esq., Captain Samuel Philer, Jeremiah Angle, Esq., Ichabod Bruster, David Barker, Benjamin Grimes, Abner Hall, Gideon Abby, Gideon Abby, Jr., David Sweetland, Silvanus Phelps, Silas Crane, Job Piss, Jonathan Crosby, Moses Cleary, David Parry, Zachariah Parker, Cornelius Stores, Ebenezer Down, Joshua Hall, Daniel Hovey, Lemuel Cleveland, Stephen Barnabus [Barnaby], Nathaniel Stiles, John Gillet, Peletiah Marsh, David Waters, Nehemiah Angle, Edmund Hovey, Moses Phelps, Jessey Gourd, Timothy Buell, Isaac Owen, Richard Webber, Israel Morrey, Jonathan Root, Joseph Mane, Ruben Cone, Daniel Burg, Ephraim Taylor, Jonathan Dawson, David Randal, John Davison, Shubeal Dimock, Nathaniel Parker, Thomas Hall, Simon Ely, James Calkings, Elisha Dunk, John Steel, Obediah Hosfurd, Elisha Bill, Jabez Chappel, Heze-

kiah Cogshill, Joseph Phelps the third, David Carver, Elisha Huntington, Chloe Fuller, Richard Beal, Mordecai Decoster, James Willson, Robert Lawson, Wignul Cole, George Northrop, Silas Gardner, Benjamin Hicks, William Allen, Hannah Hicks, Samuel Sample, Abiah Phelps, Barnabus Hall, Nathaniel Cushman, William Sweetland, Lebues Woodworth, Cornelius Stores, Jr., Daniel Hovey, Jr., Nehemiah Wood, Martha Dyer, Joseph Steward, Judiah Agard, Consider Cushman, Edmund Hovey, Jr., Robert Avery, Jr., Gamaliel Little, Jr., Ezriah Peirs, Cyprian Davison, Jedediah Williams, Jr., John Darsey, Richard Hakes, John Hovey, Joseph Chamberlain, Benjamin Agward, William Fuller, David Cogswell, Sebel Cogswell, Nathaniel Hovey, Ephraim Hall, Gershom Hall; John Hanks, Samuel Westcoat, Eunice Greenhill, John Freeman, John White. (Whether all of these received one share, or some of them only half a share, each, the record, we believe, does not say). Of the 113 names which appear in this grant, very few, as we shall see, are to be found in the effective grant of 1761. A considerable number of the names in this grant are of Connecticut men, those in the grant of 1761 of men who actually settled in Falmouth are almost exclusively Rhode Island names.

The grant of Falmouth which went permanently into effect is declared to comprise "65 shares or rights." It was given June 11, 1761, and registered July 21st of the same year.¹⁶ Each share of the township was to consist of 500 acres, but the whole was to comprise 750,000 instead of 50,000 acres, as in the first grant. As a matter of fact the 65 shares allotted reached only the sum of 34,000 acres, though the full 100 shares would have reached the sum of 50,000. The shares on this grant given for public uses, as we shall see, were, one share for the first minister, one share of 600 acres for a glebe, and 400 acres for a school. After this distribution was made, therefore, there remained yet much land to be granted. An undated plan in the Crown Land Office in Halifax gives the boundaries of this "new grant of Falmouth on the west side of Pizaquid River" as follows: "A Tract of Land Situate lying and being within the Basin of Minas being the District commonly called Pizaquid now

16. See Grant Book 3, pp. 37-45.

called and to be hereafter known by the Name of the Township of Falmouth within the said Province of Nova Scotia, in which Township are comprehended the Lands hereby granted, being bounded northerly by the Township of Horton, Beginning at a Point of Land on Pizaquid River and running south 60 Degrees West, measuring Thirteen hundred chains of four Rods to a chain, Westerly on ungranted Lands running South 30 Degrees East measuring 880 chains, Southerly on ungranted Lands running 60 Degrees East to Lands granted to James Monk, Esq., and others, measuring 440 chains, and on the Said Land running North 30 Degrees West 300 chains, thence on the Same North 60 Degrees East 192 chains till it meets with Pizaquid River to the Boundaries first mentioned, containing on the whole 50,000 acres, allowance being made for Mountainous Lands, Lakes, and high Ways, according to the Plan."¹⁷

By a comparison of the boundaries of the two Falmouth grants it will be seen that the second grant was somewhat larger than the first, though the lands in both lay entirely on the west side of Piziquid river. On the 28th of August, 1759, as we shall see when we come to describe the settlement of the township of Windsor, a grant of 7,000 acres, known still as the "Councillors' Grant," was given to seven members of the Council; and on the first of September following, another large grant, the size of which, however, we do not know, was given to Messrs. Joshua Mauger, Michael Francklin, Isaac Deschamps, Charles Proctor, William Saul, Moses Delesdernier, and Gideon Delesdernier, very near the former. The territory covered by these grants and others which shortly followed was known locally as East Falmouth, until December, 1764, when it was organized into the

17. Dr. Hind says (p. 47): "That the division of land included within the limits of *West Falmouth* was not made strictly in accordance with the original agreement with John Hicks and Amos Fuller would appear from the following unpublished letter addressed by the Hon. Jonathan Belcher to Isaac Deschamps:

"HALIFAX, 27th June, 1761.

"SIR.—If any share in West Falmouth is ungranted you will please to reserve it till you have my further directions. I shall be expecting your attendance at the general assembly with the other representatives of the King's county on Wednesday next, pursuant to the last proclamation.

"I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

"(Signed) J. BELCHER.

"ISAAC DESCHAMPS, ESQ.

"(Ms. letter in possession of Mrs. Wiggins)."

township of Windsor. Thus between 1760 and 1764 we find frequent mention in old records of both East and West Falmouth.¹⁸ In his "Old Parish Burying Ground"¹⁹ Dr. Hind reproduces an interesting letter, which we believe has otherwise never appeared in print, from the Hon. Charles Morris at Halifax to Mr. Isaac Deschamps at Piziquid, a little less than four months before the great grant of Newport township was made, in which we find significant mention of East Falmouth. The letter reads:

"Halifax, March 31, 1761.

"Sir,—Capt. Maloney, upon the application of the inhabitants of Horton and Cornwallis, is to return to New London to take in provisions, but half his lading; he is then to proceed to Newport [R. I.] to take provisions for East and West Falmouth; he has also orders to take Dr. Ellis and his family and effects and one Mr. Mather if they are ready.

"The inhabitants of East Falmouth have petitioned to be set off as a distinct township, and it has been mentioned in council, but nothing in conclusion done. There is an objection because of the fewness of the proprietors, but if they will consent to have an addition of 20 rights, a sufficient quantity of land being added for that end, I believe they may obtain it. I have proposed to have it named Newport, from my Lord Newport, a friend of Mr. Belcher's, and which I believe will be agreeable to the people if they think it will be of advantage to them. I think the addition of 20 shares will be no disadvantage, as they have land equivalent. You can inform yourself of their opinion on this head.

"I am obliged to you for the assistance you gave my son among the inhabitants. It will not be long before you will be here, and then I will fully inform you of the other affairs, till when, I am, in haste,

"Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) C. MORRIS."

"Endorsed—Rec. 5th April; Ans. 14th do."

18. In the third Assembly of the Province, which lasted from 1761 to 1765, besides the two representatives for King's County and two each for the townships of Horton and Cornwallis, the township of *West* Falmouth has two members. In the fourth Assembly, however, and thereafter, the name West Falmouth becomes merely Falmouth. Falmouth and Newport were the only townships in Hants to send members to the legislature as long as township representation continued.

19. "Old Parish Burying Ground," p. 56.

In a little less than four months after the date of this letter the township of Newport was formed, but it was not constituted from lands that belonged to what was then popularly known as East Falmouth, these lands in 1764 fell into the township of Windsor.

GRANTEES OF FALMOUTH (OR WEST FALMOUTH) IN 1761, IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

Akin, Stephen, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Hovey, Enoch, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Akin, Thomas, 1 share.	Hovey, Nathan, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Allen, William, 1 share.	Hovey, Thomas, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Barnaby, Stephen, 1 share.	Jess, Joseph, 1 share.
Bayley, Joseph, $\frac{1}{2}$ share	Lovell, John, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Bayley, Samuel, 1 share.	Lyon, Henry, 1 share.
Brown, Samuel, 1 share.	Manchester, Edward, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Burden, Perry, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Masters, Abraham, 1 share.
Chase, Zacheus, 1 share.	Masters, Jonathan, 1 share.
Church, Constant, 1 share.	Masters, Moses, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Church, Edward, 1 share.	MacCulloch, Alexander, 1
Cole, Wigum, $1\frac{1}{2}$ shares.	share.
Crosman, Jesse, 1 share.	McCulloch, Adam, 1 share.
Davison, Cyprian, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Meachum, John, 1 share.
Davison, John, 1 share.	Northup, Jeremiah, 1 share.
Davison, Jonathan, 1 share.	Northup, Joseph, 1 share.
Denson, Henry Denny, Esq., 2	Owen, Amos, 1 share.
shares.	Parker, Thomas, 1 share.
Denson, John, $1\frac{1}{2}$ shares.	Peasant, Mary, 1 share.
Denson, Lucy, 1 share.	Pyke, David, 1 share.
Dewey, Christopher, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Randall, David, $1\frac{1}{2}$ shares.
Dimmick, Shubael, 1 share.	Reynolds, Nathaniel, 1 share.
Doan, Eleazer, 1 share.	Roode, Jabesh, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Dyer, Martha, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Saunders, Timothy, 1 share.
First Minister, 1 share.	School, 400 acres.
Glebe, 600 acres.	Shaver, John, 1 share.
Green, Daniel, 1 share.	Shaw, Peter, 1 share.
Hall, Abner, $1\frac{1}{2}$ shares.	Shey, William, 1 share.
Hall, Barnabas, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Steel, John, 1 share.
Herrington, Jabesh, 1 share.	Stoddart, Ichabod, $1\frac{1}{2}$ shares.
Hicks, Benjamin, 1 share.	Sweet, Benoni, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Hicks, John, 1 share.	Watemough, Edward, 1 share.
Horswell, Luke, 1 share.	Wilson, James, 1 share.
Hovey, Daniel, Jr., $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Wilson, Joseph, 1 share.

Wolsley, William Nevil, 1½ shares.	Woodworth, Thomas, 1 share.
Wood, Nehemiah, 1 share.	York, Edward, Esq., 1½ shares.
Wood, William, ½ share.	York, William, 1 share.

A highly important early settler in Falmouth was Colonel Henry Denny Denson. As will be seen from this list of grantees in 1761, he received in Falmouth a grant of two shares, 1,000 acres, a John Denson receiving 750 acres, and Lucy Denson 500 acres. In the proprietors' records of the township his name is very conspicuous, and in 1773, we believe, he was speaker of the Assembly of the province. The place of his residence at Falmouth, "Mt. Denson," stills bears his name. He is said to have left no male descendants. He was probably a colonel in the militia, though it is likely he had held some army commission before attaining that rank.

One of the most eminently useful native Nova Scotians was a descendant of the Falmouth grantee, Thomas Akin. This was Thomas Beamish Akins, D. C. L., for many years commissioner of records in Nova Scotia, who died unmarried at Halifax in May, 1891. Dr. Akins' Rhode Island ancestry we have not traced, but the name is found on the register of Trinity Church, Newport, and probably in other Rhode Island records. On the death of Dr. Akins the House of Assembly moved that "this house has learned with profound regret of the death of Thomas B. Akins, Esquire, who for many years has held the position of commissioner of records in this province, and desires to express the recognition of his eminent learning and research and of the great services which his assiduous devotion to the records of our provincial history has rendered to the students of Nova Scotian and indeed of North American history." The many valuable papers presented by Dr. Akins to the Nova Scotia Historical Society, his careful editing of the first volume of the Nova Scotia Archives, and the large collection of books he left as a legacy to the Nova Scotia Historical Society, sufficiently attest his distinguished usefulness. His summer home to the time of his death was Falmouth, and in that town, as in Halifax, he was greatly beloved.

Among the many Rhode Island grantees of Falmouth in

1761 Captain Edmund Watmough was one. In the list, however, he appears as "Edward Watemough." In Ford's list of British officers serving in America between 1754 and 1774 he is called "Edmond" Watmough, and is said to have received a captain-lieutenancy in the Rangers, September 25, 1761. In the grant books at Halifax he appears also, October 31, 1764, with a grant in Falmouth of 500 acres. From Updike's well known History of the Narragansett Church, with its valuable notes by Rev. Daniel Goodwin, D. D., we find that "Mr. George Watmough, an English man," was one of the bearers at the burial of the wife of Rev. Dr. Mac Sparran, long Rector of the Narragansett Church, who died in England in 1755, while she and her husband were visiting there. Twenty years earlier than this, Miss Rebecca Watmough was married at "St. Paul's Church," London, to Capt. Benjamin Wickham, of Newport, Rhode Island. Some years later, this history records, "Mr. Edmund Watmough, perhaps a brother of Mrs. Wickham, visited Newport and remained there." He subsequently, however, it is said, returned to England. Captain Edmund Watmough married at Newport, R. I., but at what date is not clear, Maria Ellis, eldest daughter of Dr. Edward Ellis,²⁰ and removed to Falmouth, but how long he staid there we cannot tell. On the 19th of February, 1768, James Horatio Watmough and others received a grant of 6,322 acres in Newport, Hants County, and 20 Nov., 1772, he and others, received a grant of 847½ acres in Falmouth.

On the Falmouth township book is recorded the marriage, December 27, 1761, of "Mr. Moses Delesdernier and Mrs. Eleanor Bonner," also the birth, December 2, 1762, of their daughter, Martha Maria. Moses Delesdernier (De Lesdernier or De le Dernier) like Isaac Deschamps was a Swiss. He was born, it is said, in the Canton of Geneva, and was in Falmouth as early as November 12, 1757, for at that date Governor Lawrence gave him formal leave "to go to Pisiquid and there to Repossess lands, carry on Lawful trade, etc." Lawrence's warrant, a copy of which we find in the Falmouth Township Book, reads:

20. See Mrs. Sarah Elizabeth Titcomb's "Early New England People."

“Whereas application has been made unto me by Mr. Moses Le denier for leave to go to Pisiquid and Repossess the Houses and Lands Commonly called Labradores Farm, which was formerly occupied by him and his servants with my permission, together with the Ground that he inclosed near the Fort, which Lands he intends to cultivate and improve, These are therefore to Certify all whom it may concern, that I have given, and do hereby give liberty to the said Moses Le dernier to possess the aforesaid Premises as he did heretofore, until further orders and that at his request, I have given him License to carry on any sort of lawful Trade or Merchandise (selling Spirits mixed or unmixed to the Troops only excepted) And I do hereby desire and require the Commanding Officer for the time being of Fort Edward, and all others whom it may concern to give the same aid, Assistance, and protection, to the said Moses Le dernier and the People employed by him, which is due to any of his Majesty’s good Subjects, And in case the said Moses Le dernier shall find himself in a capacity of improving any other lands in that Neighborhood that are now vacant, he has hereby my permission to Possess the same for that purpose, untill he shall have orders to the contrary.”^{20½} This warrant is dated November 12, 1757. At some time after his marriage, Delesdernier removed to the Chignecto Isthmus, and became a resident of North Joggins, Sackville (now in New Brunswick), and a trader and it is said army contractor there. In 1774 he was in Philadelphia, “no doubt on a trading cruise,” when happening to notice a number of immigrants landing on a wharf from a West Indian vessel, he was attracted by the appearance of a young man of striking personality. He accosted the youth and found that his name was Richard John Uniacke and that he had left his home in Ireland to seek his fortune. Delesdernier invited him to return to Sackville with him and he did so. Uniacke soon fell in love with his host’s daughter, and on the 3d of May, 1775, married her, he being then twenty-one years of age and his bride less than thir-

^{20½}. “The country east of the road to Halifax,” says Dr. Hind, “fell into other hands. Among these were Moses Delesderniers, who in November, 1757, received a warrant entitling him to re-occupy premises formerly held by him, and to take possession of certain lands about Fort Edward.” “Old Parish Burying Ground,” p. 55.

teen. During the American Revolution Delesdernier was accused of disloyalty to the crown, but in letters to the government at Halifax he stoutly denied the charge, and he was finally exonerated. Mr. W. C. Milner, in his "Records of Chignecto," from which some of the above facts are taken, says also that in 1775, in partnership with a Mr. DeWitt, Delesdernier established a truck business at Hopewell Hill. The next year a certain Captain Eddy, with a force of 180 men recruited chiefly at Machias, Maine, and at Maugerville, on the St. John river, attempted to capture Fort Cumberland in the interest of the Revolution, and in his campaign sacked Delesdernier's place, and caused the latter with his family to seek the shelter of the fort. Delesdernier died in 1811 at the age of 95 years. Mrs. Eleanor Delesdernier died at Mount Uniacke, on Friday evening, July 27, 1826, in her 85th year. The newspaper notice of her death calls her "Eleanor, widow of the late Moses DeLesdernier, Esq."

One of the Falmouth settlers from Rhode Island in 1761, as the list shows, was William Allen or Alline, and the famous New Light religious revival which stirred Nova Scotia for a few years after 1776, was largely due to a son of his, young Henry Alline. William Alline had begun life and married in Boston, but before Henry was born had moved to Newport, Rhode Island. From Newport he and his family came to Falmouth, and there in 1774 Henry experienced a remarkable conversion. In 1776 he began to preach as an evangelist, and his fervency had such an effect on the people of the province that in a short time the country places were in the throes of a religious revival similar to the great awakening in New England under Whitefield and others between thirty and forty years before. Henry Alline died in Northampton, New Hampshire, in February, 1784, the victim of consumption, his end hastened no doubt by the tremendous nervous excitement he had for almost ten years without ceasing undergone.²¹

21. A longer biographical sketch of him will be found in Eaton's History of King's County, pp. 280-293.

THE TOWNSHIP OF NEWPORT

The township of Newport was named, not as we should naturally suppose from Newport, Rhode Island, from which place some of the settlers of 1760 and '61 came, but, as a letter from Hon. Charles Morris which we have already quoted shows, in compliment to Lord Newport, a friend of Hon. Jonathan Belcher, who at the time of the settlement was not only chief-justice but also lieutenant-governor of the province.²² In this part of Hants County the Acadians had not made very much settlement, the lands on which they located lying chiefly in Falmouth and Windsor. The soil, however, throughout the township was and is very fertile, and its agricultural capacities great, and since early in the New England settlement its extensive plaster quarries have yielded great quantities of this useful ore for markets in the United States. A month and ten days after the final grant of Falmouth was ordered by the Council, the great grant of Newport township was sanctioned by that body. The land within the limits of the grant was not, however, all yet unappropriated, for before the New England settlers applied for land in the county, a considerable number of grants, as we shall presently see, partly in Windsor, but very largely also in Newport, had been given to army officers who had served at Beauséjour and Louisburg, and perhaps a few other persons of importance, but for the most part the soil of Newport was owned still by the government and remained in the government's hands to give away.

The grant of Falmouth had been given on the west side of the Pisiquid, or Avon, river, the grant of Newport, which lay outside the territory commonly known as East Falmouth, was on the east side of the Pisiquid, between that river and the portion of country which later became currently known as the township of Rawdon. The Newport grant bears date July 21, 1761, and is made in the description to consist of 63 rights or shares, each share like the shares in other townships to comprise 500 acres,

22. Thomas, 4th Earl of Bradford and Viscount Newport, died unmarried April 18, 1762, when all the honors of the family became extinct and the representation went into the Bridgeman family.

and the whole to make the sum of 58,000 acres.²³ In reality, the shares allotted by the grant numbered 66, but these aggregated only the sum of 33,000 acres. The ungranted remainder of the township, therefore, was thus left for later distribution to individual grantees. As in the case of Falmouth, the first minister was to receive by the grant one share, while for a glebe 600 acres were set apart, and for a school 400 acres, "making together two shares for the use of the church and school forever." In the Crown Land Office Description Book, under date of July 21, 1761, the boundaries of Newport township are given as follows: "Beginning at a stake and stones one mile north of Cochmegun River on the River Pizaquid and to run into the woods east ten miles, thence south till it meets with the road leading from Pizaquid to Halifax thence westerly on the road to the lands granted to Major George Scott and others, and is bounded by the farm granted to the said Scott and others till it comes to the River St. Croix and is bounded westerly by the river St. Croix to Pizaquid River, and thence by the said Pizaquid River till it comes to the bounds first mentioned, containing on the whole by estimation 58,000 acres more or less, according to the plan and survey of the same."^{23½}

The list of grantees, put in alphabetical order, is as follows:

NEWPORT GRANTEES OF 1761

Albro, Samuel, 1 share.	Brenton, Samuel, 1 share.
Albro, William, 1 share.	Brightman, George, ½ share.
Allen, William, ½ share.	Burdin, Benjamin, 1 share.
Badcock, Jonathan, 1 share.	Burdin, Samuel, ½ share.
Bailey, Joseph, 1 share.	Butts, Aaron, ½ share.
Baker, Jeremiah, 1 share.	Card, James, 1 share.
Bentley, Samuel, 1 share.	Card, Jonathan, ½ share.
Bourgeois, Peter, ½ share.	Card, Richard, 1 share.

23. The grant was registered in the Crown Land Office, July 22, 1761. See Grant Book No. 4, pp. 100-105.

23½. In the History of King's County, p. 3, we have said that in 1761, from the part of Falmouth east of the Pisiquid, which was commonly known as East Falmouth, the township of Newport was set off. This statement, as we have elsewhere shown, is incorrect, the territory known as East Falmouth in 1764 came into the township of Windsor, no part of it was given to Newport. The grant of Newport was given where the New England agents had first requested that land should be set off to them, that is on the northeast side of Pisiquid river.

Carden, John, 1 share.	Reynolds, Benjamin, 1 share.
Chambers, John, 1 share.	Rogers, Jonathan, 1 share.
Chapman, Stephen, 1 share.	Sanford, Benjamin, 1 share.
Church, Edward, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Sanford, Daniel, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Clark, Elisha, 1 share.	Sanford, Income, 1 share.
De Lesdernier, Gideon, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Sanford, Joseph, 1 share.
De Lesdernier, Moses, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Sanford, Joshua, 1 share.
Deschamps, Isaac, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	School, 400 acres.
Dimock, Daniel, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Shaw, Arnold, 1 share.
Ellis, Edward, 1 share.	Shaw, John, 1 share.
First Minister, 1 share.	Shey, Peter, 1 share.
Fish, Michael, 1 share.	Simpson, James, 1 share.
Glebe Land, 600 acres.	Slocomb, John, 1 share.
Gosbee, John, 1 share.	Smith, James, 1 share.
Halyburton, William, 1 share.	Stewart, Gilbert, 1 share.
Hervie, Archibald, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Strait, Joseph, 1 share.
Hervie, James, 1 share.	Wascoat, Robert, Sr., 1 share.
Hervie, James, Jr., $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Wascoat, Robert, 1 share.
Hervie, John, 1 share.	Wascoat, Stutely, 1 share.
Irish, Levi, 1 share.	Wascoat, Zerobabel, 1 share.
Jeffers, John, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Weaver, Silas, 1 share.
Juhan, James, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Weedon, James, 1 share.
Knowles, Henry, 1 share.	Wier, Daniel, 1 share.
Lake, Caleb, 1 share.	Wilcocks, Benjamin, 1 share.
Macomber, Ichabod, 1 share.	Wilson, Joseph, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Macomber, Stephen, 1 share.	Wood, John, 1 share.
Michenor, Abel, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Woodman, John, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Mosher, James, 1 share.	Wooley, Amos, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Mumford, George, 1 share.	Wooley, Benjamin, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Potter, Cornelius, 1 share.	Woolhaber, John, 1 share.
	York, James, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.

From correspondence on the subject between the Government at Halifax and the Lords of Trade we should judge that a majority of the Nova Scotia settlers, both from Rhode Island and Connecticut, received help from the Government in transporting themselves and their belongings to their new homes. In a letter to the Lords of Trade of December 10, 1759, Governor Lawrence states that the expense of transportation of settlers from Connecticut and Rhode Island, with their stock and other effects, and of furnishing them with a quantity of corn, from the 11th of June, 1759, to the end of the winter of 1759-60, will in his

judgment reach the sum of fifteen hundred pounds. In a letter to the same body of the 12th of December, 1760, Lieutenant-Governor Belcher says that the Government had not engaged to give free transportation to any of the grantees except those of Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth, but he thinks that other settlers also should have help. Nor did government aid to the settlers stop with transportation. "The only circumstance which we regret in the management of this important business," say the Lords of Trade in a memorial to the King dated December 20, 1759, "is that notwithstanding the uncommon fertility and other peculiar advantages of these Lands, which might be deemed to afford sufficient encouragement to the settlers without incurring any expence to the Publick, we find that Mr. Lawrence has been obliged to consent to pay the charge of transporting the first year's settlers of the three first Townships, and of making them a small allowance of Bread corn. But we are hopeful nevertheless that the Reasons set forth in the said Governor's letter and in the Minutes of the Council (extracts of which we humbly beg leave to annex) may induce your Majesty to approve the conduct of your Governor in consenting to these allowances, rather than risking by too strict an attention to Economy the whole success of a measure which must be productive of the most essential advantages, not only to the Colony of Nova Scotia but to your Majesty's other Colonies on the Continent of North America, and finally to this Kingdom." By a minute of the Nova Scotia Council of October 24, 1760, we find that Mr. Charles Morris had represented to the Council concerning Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth, "that it would be of more advantage to those settlements if the species of provisions to be allowed them was altered, and that instead of the whole allowance of Indian corn they should be furnished with a proportion of mackerel and flour. Also that it would be necessary immediately to purchase and send away the same, as the navigation in the Bay of Fundi would soon become dangerous, and the arrival thereof would be thereby rendered very precarious." The Council resolved, the minute adds, "that the proposed alteration should be made, and that the necessary quantity of mackerel and flour should be immediately purchased and sent to those settlements with the ut-

most expedition." On the 11th of October, 1760, Governor Lawrence died, and Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher as president of the Council temporarily assumed the government. Writing to the Lords of Trade on the 12th of December, concerning the new townships in the Province generally, Mr. Belcher says: "Many of the Inhabitants are rich and in good circumstances. About a hundred of them have transported themselves and their effects at their own expense and are very well able to provide for their own support." But of the poorer sort, he declares, "there is provision made for them until the month of next August." "In the engagements entered into for carrying on the settlements," he adds, "no promises were made of transportation or corn to any but the grantees of Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth, and although the latter grantees have readily and cheerfully engaged themselves, yet they pleaded much for such encouragements, and have found themselves greatly obstructed for want of these advantages."

Of the character of the New England settlers generally in King's and Hants counties it is impossible to speak in too high praise, and one needs only a slight acquaintance with Rhode Island history to know the unusual prominence and worth of the families from that colony that came to Falmouth and Newport. In the Falmouth grant for example, we find the well known names, Akin, Church, Dimock, Dyer, Green, Harrington, Horswell, Northup, Shaw, Sweet, Wilson, and York; in the Newport grant, Albro, Babcock, Brenton, Card, Church, Dimock, Hali-burton, Irish, Mumford, Sanford, Shaw, Stewart, and Wier.²³⁴ In a letter dated June 16, 1760, after describing in much detail the beginning of the settlement of Liverpool, Queen's County, Governor Lawrence says: "I have just received from Mr. Morris, His Majesty's Land Surveyor, who went from Liverpool to Annapolis and Minas with orders to lay out the Townships, very flattering accounts of the families which are come to Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth. He speaks of them in general as being substantial, laborious people, adapted entirely to agriculture, and so highly pleased with their present possessions as to

²³⁴. Not a few of these families had intermarried in Rhode Island, and continued to intermarry in Nova Scotia.

declare that they think the lands fertile beyond any description which had been given of them." On the 21st of November, Belcher was formally made lieutenant-governor, and for some nine months after this laboured incessantly to develop the new settlements. Writing to the Lords of Trade on the 12th of December, he says: "I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordships that the Townships of Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth are so well established that everything bears a most hopeful appearance. As soon as these Townships were laid out by the Surveyor, palesaded forts were erected in each of them by order of the late Governor, with room to secure all the inhabitants, who were formed into a militia, to join what troops could be spared to oppose any attempts that might be formed against them by Indian tribes which had not then surrendered, and bodies of the French Inhabitants who were hovering about the Country, the fate of Canada being then undecided. After the necessary business, the proper season coming on, they were employed in gathering hay for winter. One thousand tons were provided for Horton, five hundred for Cornwallis, and six hundred for Falmouth, and about this time they put some root crops into the ground, and began to build their houses."

Of the earliest proprietors' meetings or town meetings of Falmouth the records have fortunately been preserved.²⁴ The first meeting, as we believe, was held on the 10th of June, 1760, when a committee of three was chosen to manage the town's affairs. The moderator was Shubael Dimock, and the clerk Abner Hall, and the three committeemen chosen were Wignul Cole, Abner Hall, and David Randall. The second meeting was held on the 15th of June, when it was voted that a herdsman be appointed to take care of the horses, neat cattle, sheep, and swine, "and keep said stock off of the land;" and that the owners of stock keep their stock confined in yards every night until the hay was mowed, or failing to do so be liable to pay all damages arising from their neglect. The third meeting was held June 19th, Henry Denny Denson being chosen moderator, and at this meeting a vote was taken to have three men appointed to survey and

24. These original records were copied by Dr. Thomas B. Akins, and although the original book is lost are still preserved in Falmouth.

oversee the mending and repairing of the dykes. At this and subsequent meetings action was taken to distribute systematically the houses and barns formerly occupied by the Acadians, and to apportion fairly the lumber they had stored up.

The most immediately valuable part of the settlers' grants were the fertile dyked lands but on the third and fourth of November, 1759, a violent storm and extremely high tides had broken the protecting dykes and for the time had completely ruined the crops of hay,²⁵ consequently the re-building of the dykes was one of the first and most pressing concerns of the settlers. On the 10th of December, 1759, Governor Lawrence wrote to the Lords of Trade that the marsh lands along the Bay of Fundy were all overflowed as the result of the tremendous storm of the preceding month, and that he estimates the expense of repairing and building them, exclusive of the personal labour the intending grantees might put on the work as £250 for Cornwallis, £100 for Minas, and £100 for Falmouth.²⁶ In repairing the Falmouth dykes, as also those of Horton and Cornwallis, the French who had managed to escape deportation and who were held in more or less close imprisonment at Fort Edward, were largely employed, they being far more proficient in the art of dyke-building than the New England men themselves.

In religion a majority of the Falmouth and Newport settlers were Congregationalists, but a certain number had become in Rhode Island adherents of the Anglican Church. To trace these latter families back to the historic Narragansett and Newport churches, where they had been worshippers would be an interesting task. The Albros, Mumfords, Stuarts, and Wiers, at least, had all been communicants of the Narragansett Church and had been trained in churchmanship by the noted Dr. MacSparran, while the Haliburton family during their residence in Newport had attended Trinity Church. Other families, also in Hants

25. "Old Parish Burying Ground," p. 51. The dyked lands of the French were limited in extent compared with those at present bearing hay in King's and Hants counties.

26. He estimates the corresponding expense for Granville and Annapolis as £150, and for Truro and Onslow as £150. "Old Parish Burying Ground," pp. 52-54, and Eaton's *History of King's County*, pp. 184-186. Much concerning the repair of the injured dykes will be found in Lawrence's and Belcher's letters to the Lords of Trade.

County, like the Coles, Congdons, and Sweets, may have been members of the Narragansett Church.

The first public religious services in Hants County after the settlers came were held by Anglican clergymen. In the autumn of 1760, Rev. Dr. Breynton of Halifax visited East and West Falmouth, Horton, and Cornwallis,²⁷ at all which places he preached to numerous congregations, and though he found the inhabitants "mostly dissenters" yet he was cordially received and requested to come again. In the year 1762 both he and his colleague, the Rev. Thomas Wood, repeatedly visited the new settlements, and in November of the same year, the Rev. Joseph Bennett was placed by the Venerable Society as missionary in the large King's County field.^{27½} In 1775 the Rev. William Ellis succeeded Mr. Bennett, and as missionary to the whole county continued until 1782, when the mission was divided. In that year the Rev. John Wiswall was placed in Horton and Cornwallis, while Mr. Ellis was given pastoral charge of Falmouth, Newport, and Windsor. Notwithstanding the strength of Congregationalism in Falmouth and Newport, there was no organized Congregational Church in either township in 1770, and though a certain number of the Newport settlers had become Baptists before their migration from Rhode Island, no Baptist Church was founded in Newport until 1799. In a letter to the S. P. G. from Fort Edward, dated January 4, 1763, the Rev. Mr. Bennett says that he has then been settled in King's County six weeks and by residing there has prevented the inhabitants of the several townships sending to New England for "dissenting" ministers. He hopes in time to be able to reconcile the people generally to the Church of England. In Horton, he writes, there are 670 persons, of whom 375 are children, in Cornwallis 518, of whom 319 are children, in Falmouth 278, of whom 146 are children, and in Newport 251, of whom 111 are children.

In the township of Newport, at least two large estates were early acquired that greatly overshadowed in importance any of the land holdings of the Rhode Island grantees. These were the

²⁷. Dr. Breynton in his report of this to the S. P. G. says nothing about Newport.

^{27½}. Reports of the S. P. G. for 1760-1763. See also Eaton's History of King's County, pp. 241-245.

estates known as "Mantua" and "Winckworth," the former owned and improved by Dr. George Day, the latter by Colonel Winckworth Tonge. Dr. George Day had been a surgeon in the Royal Navy, and was possibly among the settlers that came with Cornwallis to Halifax in 1749. At what time he settled in Newport is uncertain, but it is said that he was living there, engaged in farming and in a schooner trade with other places, as early as 1759. His house, indeed, it is affirmed, strongly-built and fortified and of good colonial architecture, was erected in 1758. The earliest record we have, however, of a grant to him was August 29, 1760, when in conjunction with Major George Scott and others he received land in Newport on the north side of the St. Croix river, the major part of which, on the Windsor side, "coincides with that of the Tonge estate, as ordinarily known, but includes a large stretch in the rear."²⁸ Very early in his residence in Newport Dr. Day began to build schooners for trade with Maritime-Provincial ports and with Boston, his enterprise later leading him to construct larger vessels for ocean trade. In the early part of the War of the Revolution he had a contract to supply the British troops in that town with hay, which commodity he shipped in vessels from Miller's Creek on the St. Croix river and possibly other points.^{28½} After the siege of Boston he still continued to trade with the New England capital, and sometime in 1777 he himself started in one of his vessels with a cargo of hay for that market. When his vessel neared the Massachusetts coast, she was struck by lightning and burned, and he and all his crew perished.

Whom Dr. Day first married, and whether his wife was living when he came to Nova Scotia we do not know, but he had by her a son, John Day, who in 1760 was a young man grown. Dr. Day's second wife was Henrietta Maria Cottnam, a sister of Mrs. George Scott and Mrs. Winckworth Tonge, and by her he had a daughter, Margaret Bunbury, who became the wife of John Irish, son of Levi Irish, one of the Rhode Island grantees of

²⁸. This description has been given the writer by Dr. David Allison, the well known educator and writer.

^{28½} Dr. Allison says: "Between Mantua and the settlement of the New England people was a stretch of land called Miller's Creek, bounded easterly by Mantua and westwardly by the land granted the Rhode Islanders."

Newport. This second Mrs. Day, after her husband's death lived probably with her step-son; she died in Newport, January 20, 1838, in her 92d year, the newspaper notice of her death describing her as "a lady whose amiable qualities endeared her to all her acquaintance." John Day, son of Dr. George Day, became an M. P. P. for Newport, and like his father a generally prominent man.²⁹

Colonel Winckworth Tonge appears in the British army lists as having been commissioned lieutenant of the 45th regiment (Colonel, afterward Lieut.-General, Hugh Warburton commanding) April 8, 1755. In this year he was in command of the engineering party that assisted in the capture of Fort Beauséjour, and in or after 1758, like Major Charles Lawrence, who became governor of Nova Scotia, he was probably in service at the garrison of Louisburg. His colonelcy he received at some later date in the Nova Scotia militia. His epitaph in St. Paul's burying-ground, Halifax, describes him as "naval officer, M. P. P., colonel in the militia, justice of the court of common pleas for the county of Hants," and says that he was born the 4th of February, 1728, in the county of Wexford, Ireland, and died February 2d, 1792. After the capture of Beauséjour Col. Tonge received a grant in Cumberland County, stretching southwardly from the glaxis of the fort to the Missiquash river.^{29½} This Cumberland grant included Tonge's Island, on which Col. Tonge is said to have planted the cannon at the siege of the fort.

It is probable that Col. Tonge got his first foothold in Hants County on the 2nd of June, 1759, when as we have seen, he and George and Henry Scott received 2,500 acres at "Five Houses, St. Croix, Pisiquid." On the 27th of July of the same year he and William and George Tonge received 1,500 acres at "St. Croix, Pisiquid," and from his part of these grants Winckworth Tonge created his estate, Winckworth (of late years incorrectly called

29. Dr. David Allison was brought up in the house built by Dr. Day on his Mantua estate, and to him we are indebted for much of the information we possess about Newport, and concerning the Day and Tonge families. Two hundred acres of Mantua are now owned by a family named Mounce. West and south of Mantua lay the large Tonge estate, comprising Winckworth, Macclesfield, Martha, etc., etc.

29½. This land was purchased from the Tonge estate, probably in 1789, by Titus W. Knapp, a Loyalist merchant who did a large business at Fort Cumberland, one of the Wiers, it is said, acting as his attorney in the purchase.

“Wentworth”), which lay south of the St. Croix and extended for three or three and a half miles eastward from the present town of Windsor.²⁹ On the 20th of May, 1760, he received a further grant of 1,500 acres in Falmouth, but what disposition he may have made of this grant we have not inquired.

An advertisement of the various properties of Col. Tonge in 1789, preserved in the archives at Halifax includes his estate Winckworth, “in Windsor,” 2,000 acres; Macclesfield, in Newport, 600 acres; Martha’s farm in Newport, 600 acres; also a tract in Newport township, 1,500 acres; wood lots, 600 acres “on the road from Newport to Halifax, main road, 515 acres at junction of those roads;” 400 acres on Ardoise Hill on the main road to Halifax; 400 acres one mile north of river Kennetcook; and a farm in Westmoreland, New Brunswick, on gently rising ground in the midst of extensive marsh, called Tonge’s Island, 130 acres. At the sale of these properties “Winckworth” in Newport was purchased by Hon. Alexander Brymer, a member of the Council, for £2,475. 17. 11¾. A certain portion of the Tonge property in Hants County, but just what part we are not informed, came much later than this into the hands of Perez Morton Cunningham, barrister of Windsor, who was born in 1812.

Colonel Tonge married, perhaps as his second wife,³⁰ Martha

²⁹¾. Dr. David Allison writes: “Colonel Tonge was appointed in 1760 or thereabouts to lay off the Rhode Island settlers’ lots in Newport, opposite the southern boundary, the St. Croix river.” Of a plan he has roughly sketched of part of Newport, Dr. Allison says: “You will see on this plan a large ungranted lot between the Shaw lot and the Mantua place, which latter antedates the township of Newport two years at least. Long ago on looking at the original plan of Newport in the Record Office I noticed that the Mantua property seemed entirely too long, i. e. stretched down the St. Croix river some mile or so further than it should. This puzzled me. Then, later, I heard that Col. Tonge had failed to lay off the land on the river to its full extent, i. e. to the western boundary, and had kept the intervening territory for himself. The Colonel got into financial difficulties towards the end of his life and advertised for sale all of his properties. He offers his Winckworth estate, his Fort Cumberland property, sundry wood lots, and noticeably the two farms of 600 acres each, called Macclesfield and Martha, situated in the township of Newport, just opposite (across the St. Croix) the home estate previously mentioned. At present the whole region covered by these two farms is known as ‘Miller’s Creek.’ When offered for sale in 1789 ‘Macclesfield’ and ‘Martha’ had each of them a house and barn.” The Miller family came from Ireland with Alexander McNutt, and two sons of the original settler became, as did several other Irishmen of this migration, tenant farmers on Tonge’s estate. The Rhode Island element has within the present half century largely encroached on ‘Martha’ and ‘Macclesfield.’ The Greeno family got a small slice of Macclesfield from Tonge himself. In early days Greeno’s, at the ferry, was the Newport tavern.

³⁰. If he had a first wife we do not know who she was. In 1820 Mrs. Martha Tonge was granted an allowance of £80 a year by H. M. home government

Cottnam, a daughter, we suppose, of George Cottnam, and sister of Henrietta Maria Cottnam, wife of Dr. George Day of Mantua, and Mary Cottnam, wife of Major or Colonel George Scott. He had children recorded in Windsor: William Cottnam, born April 29, 1764; Winckworth, Jr., born October 11, 1765; Caleb, born November 21, 1767; and William Sheriffe, born December 21, 1772.³¹ Of these, William Cottnam (born in 1764) was appointed naval officer by His Majesty's mandamus, probably before June 14, 1786. Later he became prominent as a representative in the legislature and was "noted for his eloquence and popularity." In 1805 he was elected Speaker of the House. Later still, it is believed, he went with Sir George Prevost to the West Indies and then to Demerara, where he was appointed secretary, and remained until his death. Miss Gertrude E. Tonge "of Windsor," a poetess, whose death at Demerara was noticed in the *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax) of March 5th and 9th, and apparently July 16th, 1825, was probably his daughter. Dr. Hind says that his son, Winckworth, 3d, was buried in Windsor in 1799, and his wife in 1805.³²

Winckworth Tonge, Jr. (born in 1765) was the "Winckworth Tonge, Esq., deputy judge advocate general at Jamaica, son of the late Col. Tonge of Windsor," who died at Jamaica, W. I., in 1820.

George Scott, who with Henry Scott and Winckworth Tonge participated in the grant of 2,500 acres at Five Houses, St. Croix, Pisiquid, June 2, 1759, may have been the George Scott who was commissioned captain of the 40th regiment, June 28, 1751, and it would seem somewhat probable that he was the same George Scott to whom Governor Shirley gave command of one of the battalions of the regiment formed by Lieutenant-Colonel John Winslow in Massachusetts for the subjugation of Fort Beauséjour in 1755. Doubt on this last point, however, must be felt from the fact that Shirley would be much more likely to give military command to a New England man than to a British

31. Who the William and George Tonge were who shared in the grant at St. Croix, June 2, 1759, we do not know. Nor do we know who the Henry Scott was who shared in that grant. In 1781 the small cutter *Jack*, six guns, was commanded by R. P. Tonge, but who R. P. Tonge was we do not know.

32. "Old Parish Burying Ground," p. 12.

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THOMAS CHANDLER HALIBURTON

born man, as we suppose the Captain George Scott of the 40th regiment to have been, and from the fact that the George Scott of Beauséjour is commonly called lieutenant-colonel.³³ The George Scott who was active in the taking of Beauséjour did valiant service also at the second capture of Louisburg, in 1758. "The boat of *Major* Scott, who commanded the light infantry and rangers," says Parkman describing this siege of Louisburg, "next came up and was stove in an instant; but Scott gained the shore, climbed the crags, and found himself with ten men in front of some seventy French and Indians. Half his followers were killed and wounded, and three bullets were shot through his clothes; but with admirable gallantry he held his ground till others came to his aid." Side by side with him in this action was the famous General Wolfe.

The George Scott who received the grant in Hants County in 1759 is said also to have received an immense grant in Halifax County, near Bedford Basin, the tract including the whole of Sackville township. He married, but at what time we do not know, Mary Cottnam, a sister of Mrs. Winckworth Tonge and the second Mrs. George Day. Who Henry Scott who also participated in the grant of 1759 was, we do not know.

The most famous native of Hants County, a man born in Windsor, but whose New England born grandfather settled in Newport, was Judge Thomas Chandler Haliburton, the eminent Nova Scotia statesman, jurist, and wit. Judge Haliburton is known in literature as the pioneer American humourist, his "Sam Slick," the Yankee clockmaker, being a noted creation of some three-quarters of a century ago, whose quaint humour and shrewd reflections on the rural populations of New England and Nova Scotia, and whose characteristic dialect furnished great amusement to our grandparents in their day.³⁴ Judge Halibur-

33. See "Winslow's Journal," and Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe," Vol. 1, pp. 246, 249-253; Vol. 2, p. 60.

34. "Sam Slick, the Clock Maker," was a clever satire on both the pre-Revolutionary Nova Scotian Yankee and the pre-Revolutionary New England Yankee. It is said that the definite original of Sam Slick was a tin peddler, who died perhaps twenty years ago in Calais, Maine. In any case, the New England peddler was a well known character in the British maritime provinces for many years, and Judge Haliburton, at his home in Windsor, and in Annapolis Royal, where he practised law for some years, but more especially in his travels on circuit as a judge, had an excellent chance to become intimately acquainted with him and to know his peculiarities well.

ton's grandfather, William Haliburton, was born in Boston, April 16, 1739, and baptized in King's Chapel parish, May 20th, of the same year. He married, April 9, 1761, his first cousin, Susanna Otis, daughter of Dr. Ephraim and Rachel (Hersey) Otis of Scituate, Massachusetts, and came probably by way of Newport, Rhode Island, where his mother had for some years previously lived, to Newport, Nova Scotia, in 1760. His parents were Andrew Haliburton of Boston and his second wife, Abigail Otis, his mother, however, at the time of the migration to Nova Scotia being the second wife of Dr. Edward Ellis. William and Susanna Haliburton had in all seven children, the third of whom, William Hersey Otis, born September 3, 1767, was the father of Judge Thomas Chandler Haliburton and grandfather of the Judge's son, Arthur Lawrence, Lord Haliburton, who was raised to the peerage of the United Kingdom in 1898, and died in 1907. Lord Haliburton was made a C. B. in 1880, K. C. B. (civil) in 1885, G. C. B. (civil) in 1897. He married in 1877 Mariana Emily, daughter of Leo Schuster, Esq., and widow of Sir William Dickason Clay, Bart.

The mother of William Haliburton, as we have said, became the second wife of Edward Ellis, M. D., of Boston, who served as surgeon-general at the first siege of Louisburg, in 1745. Dr. Ellis and his wife also settled in Newport, Nova Scotia, whither they came, as we have intimated, from Newport, Rhode Island. Like his step-son's, Dr. Ellis's grant comprised 500 acres. By his first wife, Mary (Willard) Cuyler, Dr. Ellis had three daughters: Maria, who became the wife of Capt.-Lieut. Edmund Watmough, who obtained a grant of 500 acres in Falmouth; Sarah, who became the second wife of Mr. Isaac Deschamps; Elizabeth, who was married to a Captain Peter Jacob Dordin. By his second wife, Mrs. Haliburton, he had no children. Dr. Ellis died at Amsterdam, Holland, about 1769. His wife died, we presume in Newport, not long before this date. William Haliburton did not remain long on his Newport farm, his tastes were intellectual, and he soon removed from Newport to Windsor and in the latter place began the study of law. After being admitted to the Bar he practiced in Windsor during the rest of his life.

Gilbert Stewart or Stuart, a Scotsman who had come out to

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GILBERT CHARLES STUART

North Kingstown (Wickford), Rhode Island, between 1746 and 1750, to grind snuff for Dr. Thomas Moffat, a Scotch physician who had earlier emigrated and who desired to set up a snuff mill in the Narragansett country, was another of the Rhode Island emigrants to Nova Scotia. On the 23d of May, 1751, Stuart had married in Newport, Rhode Island, Elizabeth Anthony, daughter of Albro Anthony and his wife Susanna (Heffernan), and between 1752 and 1756 had three children born: James, baptized September 1, 1752, at five months old; Ann, born November 18, 1753, baptized April 18, 1754; and Gilbert, Jr., the eminent painter, born December 3, 1755, baptized April 11, 1756. Of these children, James died young; Ann came with her mother to Nova Scotia, and about 1786 was married in Halifax, as second wife, to Hon. Henry Newton, whose first wife had been Charlotte, daughter of Hon. Benjamin Green; and Gilbert, Jr., as we have said, became the famous portrait painter, worthy successor of his master and teacher, the noted Benjamin West. Although he received a grant in Newport in 1761, for some reason Gilbert Stuart, the father, did not come to Nova Scotia until 1775, then, because he found it impossible, as the records say, to maintain his family in Rhode Island, he followed his friends the Wiers and others to Newport and there we suppose began to farm. In 1776 Mrs. Stuart and her daughter Ann followed; but the year previous young Gilbert Stuart had gone to England to study and so far as we know he was never in Nova Scotia after his parents came to the province, although while the Duke of Kent was at Halifax the Hon. Henry Newton proposed to him that he should come to the Nova Scotia capital and paint his Royal Highness, the prince having offered to send a war ship for him to England or Ireland if he would come. The elder Gilbert Stuart died in Halifax in 1793, his widow then returning to Boston to live with her son, Gilbert, who meantime had returned to America. Mrs. Stuart died either in Roxbury in 1812 or in Boston in 1816. A son, Gilbert Stuart Newton, of Hon. Henry and Ann Stuart Newton, also became a painter of considerable note. He was baptized in Halifax September 20, 1794, went early to England to study, there became a royal academician, and died in Wimbledon, August 5, 1832.

One of the best known families in Hants County has been the Wier family, leading members of which held influential positions in Halifax city, also, for many years. Daniel Wier, the founder of the family in Newport, in early life removed, perhaps from Boston (although of his birthplace we are not certain), to Narragansett, and on the 7th of April, 1744, married at the house of her parents, the Rev. Dr. MacSparran officiating, Phebe Mumford, daughter of Mr. Benjamin Mumford, a very prominent member of St. Paul's Church in North Kingstown. In 1752 and 1753 he acted as precentor or parish clerk, and until his removal to Nova Scotia in, we suppose, 1760, maintained his connection with the parish. The part of Newport where Mr. Wier received his grant was what is known as Scotch Village. It is on the southern side of the Kennetcook river, and includes what is known as "Marsters' hill." The estate, in whole or in part, was owned and occupied by members of the Wier family until 1845, when Benjamin and Joseph Wier of Halifax, Daniel's great-grandsons, sold it to some other family.

Before they left Rhode Island the Wiers had seven children born, John, Benjamin, William, James, Ann, James, and Phebe; after they came to Nova Scotia they had a son, Samuel, born. The founder of the Mumford family in Hants County was George Mumford, a brother-in-law of Daniel Wier, who probably came with his family at the same time as the Wiers. The baptism of George Mumford, December 9, 1730, will be found recorded in the register of the Narragansett Church, but who he married or how many children he had we do not know. An interesting fact in connection with the history of the Wier family is that Mrs. Phebe (Mumford) Wier was baptized in St. Paul's Church, North Kingstown, at the same time as Gilbert Stuart the painter, the date being Palm Sunday, April 11, 1756, and that the sponsors at Stuart's baptism were Phebe Mumford's parents, Benjamin and Hannah (or Ann) Mumford, who also acted as sponsors, with the child's aunt, Ann Mumford, for their own child.

A family very widely known and highly respected throughout Nova Scotia was that branch of the Allison family settled in Newport. The Allisons came in 1769 from Drumnaha, near Lim-

avady, County Londonderry, Ireland, and settled in Horton, but John Allison, born in Ireland in 1753, with his wife, Nancy Whidden, whom he had married in Horton or Cornwallis, in 1804, removed to Newport, of which town he became an important resident. His son, James Whidden, born in Horton December 1, 1795, married in Hants County in July, 1821, Margaret, daughter of Matthew and — (Jenkins) Elder, and had seven children. He was one of the leading magistrates of Newport, and for five years represented the town in the legislature. Of his children, Rev. David Allison, LL.D., has been the most noted. An eminent scholar and educator, he has held the distinguished positions of president of Mount Allison University at Sackville, New Brunswick, and Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia, and in the field of local historical writing he has done and is doing important work.

(To be continued.)

“For Conscience Sake”

BY CORNELIA MITCHELL PARSONS

CHAPTER VIII

GOVERNOR WINTHROP ARRIVES

“She was like a summer rose, making everything and everybody glad about her.”
—J. HOPKINSON SMITH.

“ANNETZE, fetch me my hood, lined with crimson, please.”

It was Mistress Frances who spoke, and the buxom Annetze hurried away to do her bidding. Mistress Frances had a basket on her arm, and was about to gather flowers and feathered grasses which come in the late Autumn. The world was very fair; the air frosty, and the ground covered with a carpet of yellow and crimson leaves, with a touch here and there of brown. The birds were singing, and the chipmunks at work collecting their winter's store of nuts. The waters of the distant bay sparkled in the sunlight.

“How beautiful it all is,” Frances murmured to herself. “So beautiful that I would have it last forever.” A voice at her elbow startled her. It was not Annetze with her hood, but their guest, Governor John Winthrop.

“The top of the morning to you, Mistress Frances, the birds would not let me sleep, and seeing you, fair lady, I thought I might perchance join you, with your permission.” And the gallant old gentleman laid his hand on his heart.

“Methinks, sir, it will give me pleasure, I am honored indeed.”

“You are an early bird, Mistress Frances.”

“Yea, in truth, but the early bird catches the worm.” She blushed.

"Most uncomplimentary to me; I have been called by many names, forsooth, but the last mentioned hath been omitted."

"I pray your pardon, Sir, it was a slip of the tongue. I meant naught of impertinence. Found you rest, Sir, after the long wearisome journey?"

"Yes; 'so ever giveth He His beloved sleep,' and though it may seem presumptuous, we are His beloved, and He is our Father. Ah, Mistress Frances, are you one of the Anabaptists, believing that Abraham's children should have been baptized?"

"I am one of the number, good Sir; we here in New Amsterdam enjoy liberty in our religious life, which was not possible elsewhere."

"We must not become entangled in controversy," Governor Winthrop continued, "we have escaped the tyranny of King Charles, and the popery of Laud. That is why we have come to a new country to be free."

"And yet, Sir, there is no freedom to be found in many places on this soil; only contentions and bitter altercations."

"Let us not talk further on this matter, for we cannot be agreed and Nature calleth us to rejoice with her on this morn. What news have you from Old England's shores?"

As if in answer to the question, Lady Deborah Moody stood before him. "You see, dear friend, I can also be an early bird, and I hope you slept well in our homey abode?"

"I slept most excellently. Lady Moody, I have many a time desired to talk with you concerning the money (part of my son's marriage portion) left in your hands as a trust. I have had of late a letter from my wife's step-mother, Mistress Priscilla Paynter. I think there were about forty pounds. These days when the post is so uncertain, I thought it best to come on purpose, that there might be no misunderstanding in the matter."

"Yes, there are forty pounds to be paid over. I hope I have proved a good steward of the money. After breakfast we will examine more closely the parchment. My friends in Old England seem to place implicit trust in my honesty."

"Strange, that such should be the case!"

"I hear Thomas Paynter, your wife's kinsman, was whipped, because he was unable to pay the fine imposed on him for not

suffering his child to be baptized. Mistress Winthrop must have felt deeply grieved."

"She was grieved," he answered, "but wrong must be punished."

"Wrong," muttered Lady Moody.

"In these days, there are few to be trusted; few trusted friends; but you, dear Lady Moody, are one of them."

After a substantial breakfast in the living-room the Governor had many things to discuss with Lady Moody, for he must start on his return journey the next morning. Frances, seeing that they were matters of a private nature, started out to try and find the maid Annetze, who had promised to help her in the dairy; as to the making and turning of sour milk for cottage cheese and curds, in which the Dutch were well versed.

Many matters were talked over during the remaining hours of the morning and the afternoon. In fact the most interesting conversation was continued until late in the evening.

When Lady Moody, the Governor and Sir Henry were left alone, silence was broken by Lady Deborah. "I have many things to ask your Excellency in regard to my ward, Frances. You are helping me to keep my secret."

"Thinketh she her name to be St. John?"

"Yes, truly, but she is such a joy child, so fond of nature and the beautiful things in life, that I would never distress her. Frances indeed feeleth that she is my child, yet she knoweth that she is that of a dear friend. The rest remaineth secret. It is my desire, that she marry my only son and heir, Sir Henry. He will be a protector, as well as lover, here in this new land. The two have many things in common. You do not object, my son, to our good friend knowing your desire? John Winthrop can keep a secret, for I have tested him these many years."

"No, indeed, Mother, I would desire his good counsel."

"You have, now, Lady Deborah, given up all idea, I judge, of returning to Massachusetts Bay Colony?"

"At first I thought heartily of so doing, but I have learned to love my new home. His Excellency, the Governor, hath made it easy for me to remain. The land hath been deeded; all has

been settled but the Indian question. They continue to molest us, reminding one of hornets stinging when they can."

"At least according to the reports that have come to my ears, you have your troubles in truth. Megapolensis and Drosius in their addresses to the Classes of Amsterdam make mention that the people of Gravesend are Mennonites. That they reject Infant Baptism, the keeping of the Sabbath, the office of Preacher and Teacher of God's Word, and that through these things come contention into the world."

"I am overwhelmed; but, my dear Governor, do take breath before you continue. That is why I came to the Dutch Province; we are allowed freedom of worship even though they smite and call us Mennonites. The question now in Boston town, I hear (and she looked slyly at Governor Winthrop) is it the duty of women to veil themselves on going abroad?"

"Minister Cotton thinks it is, but Endicott and Roger Williams say no. The thing is of grave moment."

"The longer I dwell in this wicked world, I believe in no visible Church, nor any hireling minister. The Quakers and we Anabaptists are agreed as to the latter. Poor Mary Dyer, she, like her Master, hath found no spot whereon to lay her head. Naught but persecutions—even witchcraft and the trial of poor John Burroughs. This is the age of controversy. What right have you to take the life He hath given, because, perchance, these people think in different way? 'Judge not, that ye be not judged.' "

"Let us not excite ourselves. The hour groweth late. We must however, decide as to the measures we must take as regards poor Mistress Anne Hutchinson's child. I was never the Mother's friend; her extreme views were distasteful to me."

"Say not poor Anne Hutchinson; she hath at least escaped the persecution of her own people."

"I will do what I can for her child. I have made ready a goodly sum of money for Annhook, the Indian Chief, who, though the Mother's murderer, claims the ransom."

"Perchance Minatonka may be of help in reaching the child. Before we retire for the night, good friend, let me say a parting word. John Winthrop, do not persecute; do not kill for right-

eousness' sake. 'The Lord that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall hold them in derision.' "

With these words she left the room.

CHAPTER IX

THE GOVERNOR AND MRS. STUYVESANT ARRIVE

"Regrets which are not thrust
Upon thee, seek not; for this sobbing breeze
Will but unman thee; thou art bold; trust
Thy woe-worn thoughts among these roaring trees,
And gleams of bygone playgrounds—is't no crime
To rush by night into the arms of Time?"

—CHARLES TURNER.

For several days an Indian girl had been seen hovering near by some of the servants, who were always suspicious when the red men were abroad.

"I am scenting danger," Dawkins said to her young Mistress Frances, as, one evening, she brushed her long, beautiful hair.

"Do my locks suggest our Indian friends and the tomahawk?"

"God forbid, Mistress; may such a fate never fall to you."

"Report makes the crows blacker than they are, Dawkins. Minatonka, the Indian maid, and her people, are not allowed to visit the Dutch settlements, and the Dutch are to keep away from the Indian Villages. This is the new law. I hear the ransom for Mistress Hutchinson's daughter is to be paid shortly. They say the child hath even forgotten her native tongue, and wisheth not to return to civilization. The red men, now her friends, have made the child think that the English and Dutch only are cruel."

"Strange, Mistress, that she should in so few years, be changed for the worst. Poor little maid."

"The Indian maid hath promised to use her influence to make the tribe give their captive up, but we must wait and see. I would they hated our town quite as much as they feared Underhill, then would we escape robbery and death. Dawkins, think of His Excellency the Governor and Mrs. Stuyvesant travelling all the distance from their country place in New Amsterdam* to Gravesend.

*Now Thirteenth Street.

"Never did I see the like of the cleaning and scrubbing and preparations for His Excellency the Governor. Annetze has been polishing up the pewter and silver until her hands ache, and the guest chamber is as fresh and fine as one of the chambers at Garesden. My Lady hath given orders that the furniture is to be repolished, though it was only polished last week. Such a fuss for His Excellency and Lady."

"At what time are they to arrive, Dawkins?"

"Before early candle-light, while the roads are safe."

"The Governor hath not too many friends, here in Gravesend, for the English inhabitants are sore against him, as he hath removed from office Master George Baxter and Master Hubbard."

"My good man told me he thought they had proved quite a handful for the Governor, for they hate the Dutch government, and all things connected therewith. They like not the keeping of New Year's Day, and we would have our own good St. George instead of St. Nicholas, their patron saint. Hark, that is my Lady's bell. I must go."

Frances, when left alone to her meditations, floated away into lover's land, dreaming of all the happiness in store for Sir Henry and herself. She was suddenly brought back to the stern realities of life by a knock on the door. It was Lady Moody. She came to see if Frances was dressed, and in readiness to receive their guests.

"Are you not ready, Frances child?"

"No, Mother." She called her "Mother" now, because it seemed to please Lady Moody, and she really would be her Mother some day. "I have been foolishly dreaming, probably dozing a bit, and your knock must have roused me. Worry not, I will be dressed in a short time."

It was not long before the neighing of horses was heard and a great noise of rolling wheels. Frances hurried down, and was just in time to stand with Lady Moody in the half-opened door, and welcome the guests. The servants and Sir Henry were helping Governor Stuyvesant and his Lady to alight. He was of a dark complexion; a close cap covering his black hair, and he wore slight mustachios. A wide, drooping shirt-collar fell over a velvet jacket with slashed sleeves, showing underneath full, white

puffed shirt sleeves; slashed hose, very full and fastened at the knee by a knot or rosette, and low shoes, with buckles. As he bore a wooden leg, his movements were often slow. But when excited in conversation the leg was very useful as he often brought it down with great force to emphasize some point. The Governor's Lady, Mistress Stuyvesant, was most attractive in appearance. She was Judith Bayard, a daughter of the celebrated Paris Divine. And as Mistress Anna Stuyvesant, the Governor's sister, had married her brother, there was really a double marriage connection. After the welcome greetings and all travel stains were removed, supper was announced.

The Governor told Lady Moody of his expected departure on Christmas Eve, when he would sail on the steamship *Abraham Sacrifice* for the Island of Barbadoes. Before he left, there was to be a great feast, when the seal of Amsterdam was to be given to New Amsterdam. Lady Moody and her son were ever good friends of His Excellency, and loved to tease him about many of the quaint Dutch customs. The trouble of Ensign George Baxter was also discussed, as well as the restlessness of the English settlers.

"We have in truth received much kindness at the hands of Your Honor, and the West India Company, and would not be ungrateful for all the tolerance shown us," said Lady Moody. "Believe me, I do my uttermost to influence my English friends, who are daily becoming more estranged from me."

"Of that I am sure, Lady Moody. You are a woman of honor. A woman whose word is like gold, and I am proud and grateful to have such a friend at court. You will in the future, far distant I hope, when stormy winds blow, when war clouds hover over the colonists, be my friend. I trust and thank you."

Lady Moody modestly bowed her head. Sir Henry, who had stood a silent witness, expressed himself as being in accord with his Mother, in all her wishes; giving the Governor his hand, he said, "Your Excellency can depend upon us, but we stand almost alone in this small community."

Frances, seeing that grave things were being discussed, excused herself at an early hour, and was just escaping to her chamber, when Sir Henry barred her way.

“You will give me a special ‘good-night,’ dear little Frances? I have seen nothing of you all day, and the hours pass far too slowly.”

Frances blushed, and looked poutingly up into his clear eyes. “You are of a truth always busy, and have no time for me, it seemeth.”

“Fie, dear heart, I would not have you speak thus. On the morrow we must plan something pleasing. I have much to talk over with you, so many plans. Good-night, sweet dreams.” And drawing the girl to him, he pressed a kiss upon her lips. “I never knew how dear you are to me, Frances.”

“Am I truly dear to you?”

His answer was a close embrace. Frances laughingly tore herself away and Sir Henry reluctantly returned to his Mother and her guests.

History of the Mormon Church

By BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER CXIV

MISCELLANEOUS EVENTS 1872-77. DEVELOPMENT OF AUXILIARY ORGANIZATIONS—THE “UNITED ORDER” MOVEMENT—ADVENT OF SECTARIAN MISSIONS AND CHURCHES—THE CLOSING YEARS OF BRIGHAM YOUNG’S LIFE — NOTED UTAH VISITORS — DEATH — LIFE’S ACHIEVEMENTS AND PLACE IN HISTORY OF BRIGHAM YOUNG

TO the period now under consideration belongs the marked development of the auxiliary organizations of the Church, the formation of the Young Men’s associations. Long before this Sunday Schools had been established. The first by Elder Richard Ballantyne, on Sunday, 9th of December, 1849, in Salt Lake City. The children of some of the leading families of the Church attended this school. During the first year the school numbered about fifty members. This led to the establishment of other Sunday schools, though for some years the work was carried on by individual efforts of those who felt a personal interest in the children of the Church. In 1866 Geo. Q. Cannon became intensely interested in the Sunday School work, his observations and experiences while on foreign missions impressing him with the importance of rearing the youth of the Church in a firm belief in the faith of their fathers. The Sunday School presented the most efficient means of accomplishing this purpose, and to that organization he began devoting his attention. On the 1st of January, 1866, the first number of the *Juvenile Instructor* was issued, a magazine designed to educate the

rising generation of the Latter-day Saints, and to give support to the Sunday School movement.³³

In the 15th of April number of the *Juvenile*, 1866, a letter appeared written by Wm. H. Sherman,³⁴ urging the organization of a Sunday School Union, to give organic uniformity to this movement and greater efficiency that could only come from such a central body. At the following October Conference of the Church some attention was given to Sunday School work and the necessity of a central organization to direct its course. On November the 4th, such an organization was effected, of which Geo. Q. Cannon was chosen president, Edward L. Sloan was chosen secretary and George Goddard and Robert L. Campbell, corresponding secretaries. A committee of three was chosen to decide upon suitable books for Sunday School libraries. This organization for several years bore the name of the "Parent Sunday School Union." In 1872 the central organization took the name by which it has ever since been known—"The Deseret Sunday School Union." That year it increased its efficiency by more frequent meetings and greater earnestness on the part of its officers and members. The Union held its first great celebration on the 24th of July, 1874—Pioneer Day—in Salt Lake City, at which there were present between eight and ten thousand teachers and children enthusiastic in the work. Thenceforward the Sunday School work under the direction

33. Too much in praise of this magazine cannot be said. It is worthy of the following notice of it by Mr. Edward W. Tullidge in his History of Salt Lake City: "The special design of this magazine was to educate the rising generation of the Mormon people, and to secure select readings for the homes, adapted to both parents and children. In this special mission, the *Juvenile Instructor* has been a power in every city and hamlet throughout Utah. Its class of literature for variety, instruction and entertainment, and also in the quality of its subjects, entitles the *Juvenile Instructor* to a first rank among church magazines. In many respects it resembles the once famous "Cassell's Paper," started in London nearly forty years ago, for the purpose of educating the English homes, and whose mission was of a semi-religious order. The volumes of the *Juvenile Instructor* are not only copiously illustrated with wood cuts to accompany their subjects, but it frequently publishes original music from Utah composers. Indeed, though others of our home magazines have appeared with a few sheets of music type-setting, to the *Juvenile* office belongs the honor of sustaining a semi-musical magazine." (Appendix to the History above mentioned, p. 11). The *Juvenile* still continues to fulfill its high duty of instructing the children of the Latter-day Saints, and maintaining the interests of the superb institution of which it is the organ—the Sunday Schools of the Church of the Latter-day Saints.

34. This Mr. Sherman is the one who afterwards became identified with the "Godbeite" or "New Movement" of a few years later, but in the advancing years of his life he returned to full fellowship in the Church.

of the Deseret Sunday School Union, has proven itself to be one of the mightiest moral and spiritual forces in the Church of the Latter-day Saints.³⁵

For some time previous to the 10th day of June, 1875, which marks the formal beginning of the organization of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement associations, there had existed "literary societies," "debating clubs," "young men's clubs," etc.; but these, while indicating a general desire for literary, social, and, in some instances, spiritual advancement were but the outgrowth of individual efforts in widely separated settlements and without any unity of purpose or similarity of organic structure. Such were the general conditions among the young men respecting such matters, when about the first of June, 1875, President Brigham Young called to him Elder Junius F. Wells, son of his second counselor, Daniel H. Wells, a youth then but twenty years of age, recently returned from a mission in England, and informed him that it was his desire that the young men of Israel should be organized into associations for self, and mutual, improvement.³⁶ As the keynote of the movement, the following was given to Elder Junius Wells and those associated with him by President Young:

"We want you to organize yourselves into associations for mutual improvement. Let the keynote of your work be the establishment in the youth of individual testimony of the truth and magnitude of the great latter-day work; the development of the gifts within them, that have been bestowed upon them by the laying on of hands of the servants of God; cultivating a knowledge and an application of the eternal principles of the great science of life."

35. For a complete History of this movement see Jubilee Hist. of the Latter-day Saint Sunday Schools, 545 pages, 1900, published by the Deseret Sunday School Union.

36. The quick evolution of the name of the Association in the mind of President Young at the first interview with Elder Wells upon this subject is interesting. "The question came up as to what the association should be called, and as nearly as I can recall his words they were as follows: 'We want to organize the young men into an association—an improvement association—a mutual improvement association—Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association—there's your name.' That is how we came by our name." Remarks of Junius F. Wells at the Y. M. M. I. A. Conference 10th of June, 1905, published in Hist. of Y. L. M. I. Associations, Gates, p. 82.

And later, in a letter of instructions, dated Nov. 6th, 1875, the following:

“It is our desire that these institutions should flourish, that our young men may grow in the comprehension of, and faith in, the holy principles of the gospel of eternal salvation, and furthermore, have an opportunity to, and be encouraged in, bearing testimony to, and speaking of, the truths of our holy religion. Let the consideration of these truths and principles be the ground work and leading idea of every such association; and on this foundation of faith in God’s great latter-day work let their members build all true knowledge by which they may be useful in the establishment of his kingdom. Each member will find that happiness in this world mainly depends on the work he does, and the way in which he does it. It now becomes the duty of these institutions to aid the holy priesthood in instructing the youth of Israel in all things commendable and worthy of the acceptance of Saints of the Most High God.”^{36½}

The first association was formed in the Thirteenth Ward Chapel Salt Lake City on the 10th day of June, 1875, H. A. Wooley was chosen president; B. Morris Young and Heber J. Grant, counselors; Hiram H. Goddard secretary. Thence the organization spread to many other wards and settlements throughout Utah, until by November 8th, 1876, after a little more than a year of effort, one hundred associations had been organized with a membership of over two thousand. In December following, in the Old Council House, at Salt Lake City, a “Central Committee” was organized, consisting of Junius F. Wells, president; Milton H. Hardy and Rodney C. Badger, counselors; John Nicholson, R. W. Young and Geo. F. Gibbs, secretaries, and Mathoni W. Pratt, treasurer. This organization continued until the 6th of April, 1880, when the work had reached such development that it was thought necessary to give it closer association with the general authorities of the Church, and the veteran Apostle Wilford Woodruff was made the superintendent of the organization, and Joseph F. Smith and Moses Thatcher, both of the Council of the Twelve, became his counselors. Junius F. Wells, Dr. Milton H. Hardy, Rodney C. Bad-

^{36½}. The Past of Mutual Improvement—Anderson—*Improvement Era*, Nov. 1897.

ger were sustained as assistants to the superintendency; Heber J. Grant was made secretary and Wm. S. Burton, treasurer.

Variously modified in structure and developing purpose, the organization still continues and is in a most flourishing condition; and with very few exceptions forms part of every ward and branch organization in the stakes of Zion, and in the missions of the Church.³⁷

The Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Associations, which are designed to afford similar opportunity of self-culture to the young women of the church as the young men's associations afford the young men, may claim priority in organization. That movement began by a meeting held at the "Lion House" residence of Brigham Young, on the 28th of November, 1869.

Brigham Young had long felt the need of what he called "retrenchment" among the young women in Zion, meaning by that the surrender of extravagance in dress, speech and general deportment, and the cultivation of habits of order, thrift, industry and charity. This retrenchment movement was started on the above date among the members of President Young's own family. For some time the movement went by the name of the "Co-operative Retrenchment Association." The President of the first association organized was Ella Young Empey, a married daughter of President Young. She had six of her sisters as counselors.³⁸ The movement was not long confined, however, to President Young's family. Within the year 1870, there were branches of the organization in nearly every ward in Salt Lake City, and the work had extended to Ogden and Logan in the north, and to Provo in the south. Finally as the Young Men's Improvement Associations developed, it was easy to see

37. The movement, besides bringing forth many text books on a great variety of subjects, has given rise to two monthly magazines in succession as organs of the institution. These are the *Contributor*, which began in 1879, with Junius F. Wells as Editor. It continued through seventeen years. Next the *Improvement Era*, which began in November, 1897, and is still published. A history of the rise and progress of this movement will be found in the *Improvement Era* of November, 1897, by E. H. Anderson the present Associate Editor of the *Era* under the caption—The Past of Mutual Improvement. In addition to continuing the central thought-purpose of the organization—intellectual, moral, social, and spiritual development, the movement has of late taken on physical culture by means of directed athletics and Boy Scouting, and also Vocational guidance and industrial placement.

38. These were Emily Y. Clawson, Zina Y. Williams, Maria Y. Dougal, Caroline Young, Phoebe Young, Dora L. Young.

that the "Retrenchment Associations" of the young ladies had in hand a strikingly parallel work with that of the young men's associations, and soon began in their organization to conform to the same general outlines, as they did also in name—Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association. A general superintendent in 1880 was chosen in the person of sister Elmina S. Taylor, who selected for her counselors Mrs. Margaret Taylor, Miss Martha Horne (who later became Mrs. Martha Tingy, and is now—1914—the President of the great organization) Miss Louie Wells was chosen secretary, and Mrs. Fannie Young Thatcher, treasurer. The development and achievements of this organization have paralleled among the young women what has been accomplished by the Young Men's Association among the young men of the Church.³⁹

In addition to these developments in the auxiliary organizations a reform movement occurred in the Church itself, inaugurated by President Young. This in the winter of 1874. It was in the nature of a recurrence to the principle of consecration and stewardship referred to in earlier chapters of this history.⁴⁰ A movement that would lead the Saints through a complete consecration of their earthly possessions, to a closer union in moral purpose and spiritual union.⁴¹ President Young began this movement in St. George⁴² and other settlements of the Rio

39. For an account of the rise and progress of this movement among the young women of the Church of the Latter-day Saints, see History of the Y. L. M. I. A., by Susa Young Gates, 488 pages, 1911, *Deseret News* print.

40. See chapters XVIII, XIX.

41. That the purpose of uniting the people in their material interests was to secure a higher spiritual union among the people is manifest in the remarks of President Young when introducing the subject for the consideration of the 44th annual conference of the Church. He said: "And when the question is asked—'whose is this?'—the earnings and savings of this community, organized to sustain and promote the kingdom of God on the earth, the answer will be—'It is ours, and we are the Lord's, and all that we have belongs to him.' He has placed this in our possession for our improvement and to see what we will do with it, and whether we will devote ourselves, our time, talents and means for the salvation of the human family." Elder Erastus Snow's characterization of it was: "The great principle involved in the 'United Order' was each one for the whole and God for all. Among other good things it was a mutual educational society for the industrious, frugal and well-behaved. * * * It was for the strong to sustain the weak." Minutes of the annual conference of the Church, 1874, published in *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 22, 23, 24.

42. At St. George the following rules for the conduct of those who entered into this movement known as the "United Order of Zion" were drawn up and accepted by the meeting; and afterwards became generally adopted wherever the "Order" was organized.

Virgin valley, and continued to preach it on his return journey to Salt Lake City. The annual conference of the Church for 1874 which convened on the sixth of April, after one session adjourned until the 7th of May. This in order to afford President Young, then en route from the south, an opportunity to attend the conference. The conference when convened in May devoted considerable attention to the "United Order." A general organization was effected in which the First Presidency of the Church were sustained as President and Vice-Presidents; the Twelve Apostles, as assistant Vice-Presidents; David McKenzie was made Secretary, with five assistant secretaries, and a general bookkeeper; Geo. A. Smith, who had been appointed Trustee-in-trust for the church, was elected treasurer; and be-

"RULES THAT SHOULD BE OBSERVED BY MEMBERS OF THE
UNITED ORDER."

"We will not take the name of the Deity in vain, nor speak lightly of His character or of sacred things.

"We will pray with our families morning and evening and also attend to secret prayer.

"We will observe and keep the Word of Wisdom according to the spirit and the meaning thereof.

"We will treat our families with due kindness and affection, and set before them an example worthy of imitation. In our families and intercourse with all persons, we will refrain from being contentious or quarrelsome, and we will cease to speak evil of each other, and will cultivate a spirit of charity towards all. We consider it our duty to keep from acting selfishly or from covetous motives, and will seek the interest of each other and the salvation of all mankind.

"We will observe the Sabbath day to keep it holy, in accordance with the Revelations.

"That which is committed to our care, we will not appropriate to our own use.

"That which we borrow we will return according to promise, and that which we find we will not appropriate to our own use, but seek to return it to its proper owner.

"We will, as soon as possible, cancel all individual indebtedness contracted prior to our uniting with the order, and, when once fully identified with said order, will contract no debts contrary to the wishes of the Board of Directors.

"We will patronize our brethren who are in the order.

"In our apparel and deportment we will not pattern after nor encourage foolish and extravagant fashions, and cease to import or buy from abroad any article which can be reasonably dispensed with, or which can be produced by combination of home labour. We will foster and encourage the producing and manufacturing of all articles needful for our consumption as fast as our circumstances will permit.

"We will be simple in our dress and manner of living, using proper economy and prudence in the management of all intrusted to our care.

"We will combine our labour for mutual benefit, sustain with our faith, prayers, and words those whom we have elected to take the management of the different departments of the order, and be subject to them in their official capacity, refraining from a spirit of fault-finding.

"We will honestly and diligently labour and devote ourselves and all we have to the order and to the building up of the Kingdom of God."

sides these officers there was elected a Board of Directors, from among the most prominent business men in the Church.⁴³

The development of this movement was not uniform. In some places it took on the form of strict community life, holding property in common, and in some instances the community living as one family, as in Sunset, one of the recently established Arizona settlements; at Orderville, in Long Valley, Kane county; Kingston, in Piute county, and a few other places.⁴⁴ But quite generally the movement took on a less pronounced communistic character, of which the Sevier Stake of Zion, presided over by Joseph A. Young, oldest son of President Brigham Young, is the best example of record. As explained by Joseph A. Young the organization operated as follows:

“A year ago last April eight settlements of the county were organized into that system, and about two-thirds of the people have since been steadily working in it. The qualification for membership is not that of the amount of property possessed by the individual, but that of standing in the Church and general good conduct, and no one is admitted except those who put all they have into the Association, which is organized under the laws of the Territory. In the admission of persons to membership the question of capacity to render valuable service to the association is not considered, the gospel theory and practice of ‘the strong aiding the weak’ is recognized and carried out, that the whole community may rise together.

“In Richfield, the leading settlement, 135 families work in the Order. The capital of the organization is under the control of the board of directors, who are elected by the members, each person having credit according to the amount of property or means that he has placed therein.

“Most kinds of work is done by contract, based on cash prices, and the surplus credits accruing from a man’s labor, over what he draws for the sustenance of himself and family, are placed to his credit on capital stock. Occasionally, when a member wants a house built, and has not quite enough credit or

43. These were Horace S. Eldredge, John Sharp, Feramorze Little, Moses Thatcher, John Van Cott, James P. Freeze, Henry Dinwoodie, Thomas Taylor, and Elijah F. Sheets.

44. For a description of the “Family,” or community life at Orderville see Letter of D. B. Fackrell, secretary of the U. O. at that place, date of July, 1875, this after (16) months experience, *Deseret News—Weekly*—of July 28th, 1875, p. 410. See also Sinners and Saints,—Phil Robinson—for description of community life efforts at Kingston and Orderville, chapters XVII and XVIII.

stock to pay for it, the Order builds it for him, and in course of a short time his credits increase and he pays for it, thus making the system one of the best mutual benefit associations in existence.

"Besides the general stock concern the people have stewardships which are separate, and which include their homes, city lots, domestic animals, etc., which by industry and tact, they put to good use in procuring extras with their products, the substantials being furnished from the main source of supply.

"The Order in Richfield now owns a grist mill, which cost between \$10,000 and \$11,000, and also a steam saw, lath, and shingle mill, at which about thirty men are employed. The horse-herd of the association includes about 200 head of animals, the cattle-herd 800, and the sheep herd 1,700, and a tannery belonging to the county.

"About half a dozen shoemakers are at work in the Order, and carpenters, masons, and tenders to the number of about twenty, besides forty-five that are farming something over 1,100 acres of land, and a few men are at work making furniture, besides other branches of business that are in operation.

"A few of the older men stay around home and attend to the heavier labors in that department, such as wood hauling, attending to water ditches, plowing, etc., so that everybody has something to do.

"Some difficulty was met with the first year but the organization and its operations being based upon benign gospel principles and a well defined business system, obstacles are fast disappearing, and a feeling of brotherly kindness is increasing."⁴⁵

Later, in order to make more solemnly impressive this movement, it was attended by renewal of covenants in baptism, which was begun by President Young and his counselors, at Ephraim, Sanpete county, on the 17th of July, 1875, an example afterwards quite generally followed by the Church.

Two things, however, yea, three, contributed to arrest the development of the United Order movement; first, the increasing complexity of life in Utah—larger contact with modern-world life by the influx of a constantly increasing non-Mormon population; second, the fact that the movement as projected would divide the Church into two classes in its membership,

45. *Deseret News*—Weekly—of Aug. 4th, 1875, p. 417.

those who did, and those who did not, belong to the "Order"—for refusal to enter into the United Order was not to be a matter of fellowship in the Church; and, of course, that meant division in the membership as stated above—a thing very undesirable;⁴⁶

third, the increasing years of President Young, and his steadily failing health, which made it impossible for him to bring to this great task the old-time strength—mental and physical—of former years. And so, for these reasons, the United Order movement first languished and then quietly subsided into desuetude; since then, no further effort of the kind has been attempted.

To this period belongs the initiative of efforts to convert Mormons from their faith by the coming of the representatives of the old forms of sectarian Christianity among the Latter-day Saints. The first to make an attempt of this kind was the Rev. Norman McLeod who came to Utah with the California volun-

46. See Minutes of 44th annual conference S. L. City *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 22, 23, 24. It cannot be matter of surprise that the faith of all the members was not equal to the sacrifice of their earthly possessions to an adventure of this description, for sacrifice it indeed was, as is attested by the deed of gift to the "Order" authorities, when the act of consecration was affected. The following is a sample deed:

"Be it known by these presents, that I, Jesse W. Fox, of Great Salt Lake City, in the county of Great Salt Lake, and territory of Utah, for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred (\$100) dollars and the good-will which I have to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, give and convey unto Brigham Young, trustee in trust for the said Church, his successor in office and assigns, all my claims to and ownership of the following-described property, to wit:

One house and lot	\$1,000
One city lot	100
East half of lot I, block 12.....	50
Lot I, block 14	75
Two cows, \$50; two calves \$15.....	65
One mare, \$100; one colt, \$50.....	150
One watch, \$20; one clock, \$12.....	32
Clothing, \$300; beds and bedding, \$125.....	425
One stove, \$20; household furniture, \$210.....	230

Total\$2,127

together with all the rights, privileges, and appurtenances thereunto belonging or appertaining. I also covenant and agree that I am the lawful claimant and owner of said property, and will warrant and for ever defend the same unto the said Trustee in Trust, his successor in office and assigns, against the claims of my heirs, assigns, or any person whomsoever."

Then follows the attestation of the witness, and the formal certificate of the Judge of the Probate Court that "the signer of the above transfer, personally known to me appeared the second day of April, 1875, and acknowledged that he, of his own choice, executed the foregoing transfer."

teers, in 1862, and who, after the volunteers were discharged, remained to act as a missionary for the Congregational Church. According to the "Utah Gazetteer" for 1884, where the information relative to the "Churches in Utah," "is furnished from each denomination by the person most prominently identified with the Church concerning which the matter is given,"⁴⁷ Rev. McLeod was "transferred by the American Home Missionary Society from Denver to Salt Lake, to labor in the cause of the Congregational Church."⁴⁸ This minister made himself very unpopular in Salt Lake City. In addition to delivering anti-Mormon lectures in the "Liberal Institute" in Salt Lake City, in which he attacked the character of the leading Mormon Church officials, he sympathetically, if not actually, identified himself with the anti-Mormon "Utah ring" from the land-jumping efforts of Dr. J. King Robinson, *et al.*, to the political schemes of Newman, Baskin, Maxwell, *et al.*; during the McKean period; to say nothing of his misrepresentation both east and west of Mormon conditions in Utah. He finally departed from the Territory, and Mormonism bore no scars from wounds of his inflicting.

Of Rev. J. P. Newman's effort in his attack upon polygamy sufficient has already been said.

On the first of May, 1867, Rev. Daniel S. Tuttle, Rector of Zion's Church in the Town of Morris, Otsego county, N. Y., was ordained a bishop and assigned to the newly created mission diocese of Montana, Idaho and Utah. He chose as his assistants for

47. See the "Gazetteer," p. 208.

48. A few days later he arrived in the city and opened religious services at once in Daft's Hall, and also at Camp Douglas. Two Sunday schools were established, and the enrollment of the one in the city presently showed an attendance of 250. February 14th, a church was organized with 17 members. Before the close of the year a lot had been purchased and an adobe structure (an addition to Independence Hall), 35 by 59 feet, had been erected, at a cost for land and building of \$7,500. Of this sum more than \$2,000 was raised in California by Mr. McLeod. Most of the remainder was raised in Salt Lake. Mr. McLeod labored perseveringly until early in the spring of 1866, when he was called east. The city Sunday school was continued several years, and until absorbed by those of other denominations—which, in the meantime, had opened mission work in Utah. In 1872 Mr. McLeod returned and spent a year in the effort to re-gather the scattered fragments of the church and Sunday schools, but he resigned before its accomplishment. Rev. Walter M. Barrows was chosen his successor, and on May 24, 1874, a church of 24 members was formed. From that day steady growth and prosperity followed. In 1880 self-support was reached, and when Mr. Barrows resigned, June, 1881, the membership was nearly 150.

the Utah field Revs. Geo. W. Foote and T. W. Haskins who arrived in Utah, the one on the 3rd, the other on the 4th of May, 1867. The Bishop followed them arriving in Salt Lake on the 2nd of July of the same year. The policy of Bishop Tuttle was in marked contrast to that of some sectarian missionaries who both preceded and followed him. That policy is best outlined in a passage from a letter to Mrs. Tuttle—who was still in the east—under date of July 10th, 1867:

“The Mormons entered this valley just twenty years ago the 24th of this month. They hold marked celebrations of the event every 24th of July. There are, therefore, young men and young women here who have never seen aught of the outside world, who have never witnessed Christian worship of any kind whatever, who have been taught (and from specimens here they may well believe) that all Gentiles are a cheating, blasphemous, licentious set of men. One great duty we have to do, with God’s help and blessing, to show these young Mormons by our lives and conversation that we are the pure, just, peaceable, and loving people that, if we are Christ’s true disciples, we ought to be. Meanwhile, be it said, there seems to be less profanity, rowdyism, rampant and noisy wickedness among the young Mormons than among the youth of any other town or city where I’ve been. Drunkenness is a crime almost unknown among them.”⁴⁹

Bishop Tuttle while he remained in the western mission field strictly adhered to the spirit of the policy outlined in the foregoing passage and won the respect and esteem of both the Church leaders and the Latter-day Saints as far as he came in contact with them, for he accorded to them and to their faith, both in spoken and written word, what he intended to be fair treatment. The Episcopal Church, under his direction and those who followed him, flourished in Utah; and to them may be accorded the honor of pioneering in Utah in two things: the founding of non-Mormon, Christian educational institutions; and second, Hospitals; St. Mark’s Hospital being founded in 1869.⁵⁰

The advent of the Catholics into Utah, after the organization of the Territory, followed by about one year the coming of

49. *Reminiscences of a Missionary Bishop, Tuttle*, 1906, p. 110.

50. See *Utah Gazetteer*, p. 209, and *The Mountain Empire*, p. 31.

the California Volunteers. The first to come was Rev. J. B. Raverdy, from Denver, Colorado. He remained for some time at Camp Douglas, where he found some members of his Church among the California Volunteers, whose confessions he heard, "and daily offered up the holy sacrifice." At the request of General Connor he blessed the military cemetery where the Camp's dead are buried, including those of the Bear River battle. This in May, 1864. In June, 1866, the Rev. Edward Kelly, at the request of Bishop O'Connel, of Sacramento, came to Salt Lake and from among the few Catholics he found in the city he raised a subscription with which he purchased a piece of ground at second East street, between South Temple and first South street, where afterwards a church was erected in 1871 at a cost of \$10,000,⁵¹ the forerunner of the splendid Catholic Cathedral at "Brigham and A" Street. "Father Kelly said his first public Mass in Salt Lake in the old Assembly Hall of the Latter-day Saints, courteously placed at his disposal by the President and Elders of the church. After administering to the spiritual demands of the handful of Catholics then in the city, Father Kelly returned to Sacramento."⁵²

The next priest to come to Utah was Father James P. Foley, who, in the dilapidated adobe structure on the lot purchased by Father Kelly, celebrated mass and taught the Catholic faith. He was succeeded by the Rev. Patrick Walsh under whose ministry the Church of St. Mary Magdalene was erected and dedicated on Nov. 6th, 1871. Father Walsh remained pastor of St. Mary's until July, 1873, when he was recalled by his Archbishop to another charge in California; and in August, 1873, Rev. Lawrence Scanlon came to Salt Lake as missionary rector, "to fall heir to a little brick church, with its wooden cross, and groaning under a mortgage of \$6,000." The missionary rector became the present (1914) Bishop of Salt Lake and Utah, and

51. "Soon after the purchase it was discovered that there was a blemish on the title to the lot. To avoid litigation, the seller and buyer agreed to submit the matter in dispute to the Mormon President, Brigham Young, and stand by his arbitration. The President, after examining the deed and listening patiently to the evidence, decided that Father Kelly was right, and ordered that the title should be quieted, all claims against the ground settled by the seller, and the deed handed over to the priest." The Catholic Church in Utah, Dean Harris, 1909, p. 282.

52. *Ibid*, p. 282.

"the little brick church" is succeeded by the magnificent \$600,000 Cathedral and "a score of handsome churches scattered over the diocese that in 1873 was the parish of the young priest."⁵³

It cannot be said that this Catholic mission was established in Utah to make war on the Mormon Church, and it is but just to say that the representatives of the Catholic Church have not joined in those anti-Mormon political agitations which menaced the peace of the Latter-day Saints in Utah. "I do not see your name, Bishop, on protests and other papers that some of the ministers here are circulating," said a correspondent of the "*Newark* (New Jersey) *News*"—June, 1903—to Bishop Scanlon. "No," replied the Bishop, "I never join in anything of that kind. My mission here is not to make war among the Mormon people, or any other people, but rather to be the bearer of the message of peace and good will toward all men. If there is any law to be enforced, I leave that for my government to do."⁵⁴

The work of the Presbyterian Church in Utah began in 1869 with the rise of Corinne. Beadle in his account of the rise of Corinne says "a church and a school have been successfully established,"⁵⁵ but gives no information as to the pastor. Rev. Sheldon Jackson, synodical missionary of the Presbyterian Church, however, arrived at Corinne in June, 1869, and began the holding of regular services on the 13th of the same month, and a year later, July 14th, 1870, the first Presbyterian Church was organized in Utah.⁵⁶ In September, 1871, Rev. Josiah Welch became the first Presbyterian pastor of Salt Lake City. His first meetings were held at the Liberal Institute,⁵⁷ but later a church was built on the corner of second East and second South

53. Article Salt Lake *Tribune* of June 28, 1914, Reminiscences of Bishop Scanlon's forty-eight years of service in the Catholic priesthood.

54. The *Newark News* letter is reproduced in *Defense of the Faith and the Saints*, Vol. 1, p. 117.

55. *Life in Utah*, etc., p. 510, Rev. Henry Kendall, D. D., secretary of the board of home missions, preached the first sermon by any representative of the Presbyterian Church in Salt Lake City (*The Mountain Empire*, Sloan and Blair, 1904, p. 30).

56. *The Mountain Empire*, p. 30.

57. *Utah Gazetteer*, p. 210, Whitney says in Faust's Hall (*Hist. Utah*, Vol. 2, p. 317).

streets. The Presbyterian ministry in Utah became the most active in their anti-Mormon activities.⁵⁸

The first preaching of Methodism in Utah was by one Rev. L. Hartsough, who is said to have made a "prospecting tour" from his residence in Laramie, Wyoming, preaching "once or more in Wasatch, Ogden, Corinne, and Salt Lake City. Then came G. M. Pierce, from the central New York conference. He came to Salt Lake City May 8th, 1870. About a month later by appointment from Bishop Ames he became superintendent of missions for Utah. Rev. Pierce remained in charge of the work in Utah until 1876. The first Church edifice was erected at Corinne in 1870. The first Church in Salt Lake City was begun in 1870.

In June, 1871, a camp meeting service was held under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal denomination; the services lasting through eight days. It was the first service of its kind held in Utah. The Latter-day Saints were encouraged to attend these services, especially the young.⁵⁹ There were some

58. They extended their work into various parts of the Territory, and by 1884 had ministers located at Springville, Payson and American Fork, in Utah county, Brigham City, Box Elder county, at Hyrum and Logan in Cache county, Manti and Mount Pleasant in Sanpete county, and at St. George in Washington county. (Utah Gazetteer, p. 210). So far as making inroads upon people of the Mormon faith is concerned, however, by the Presbyterians or any other of these sectarian missions, their efforts have been practically barren of results. Less than one poor scruple of result to more than a ton of effort is not an exaggerated statement of the proportion of effort to result.

59. "President Young, when he heard that it was their intention to bring a big tent here and hold meetings, advised the Latter-day Saints to go and hear them, and he particularly desired the young people who had never witnessed meetings of this kind and listened to the preaching of this denomination to attend the meetings. The tent has been crowded every night, and the people have manifested extraordinary forbearance and patience, even when denounced and accused by speakers of sin, and also crimes, of which they knew they were more guiltless than their accusers." (*Deseret News* Editorial—Weekly—of June 21st, 1871, p. 236). In Ogden on the 3d of June, 1871, President Young in a discourse said: If you should have visits here from those professing to be Christians, and they intimate a desire to preach to you, by all means invite them to do so. Accord to every reputable person who may visit you, and who may wish to occupy the stands of your meeting houses to preach to you, the privilege of doing so, no matter whether he be a Catholic, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Baptist, Free-will Baptist, Methodist, or whatever he may be; and if he wishes to speak to your children let him do so. Of course you have the power to correct whatever false teachings or impressions, if any, your children may hear or receive. I say to parents, place your children, as far as you have an opportunity to do so, in a position or situation to learn every thing in the world that is worth learning. * * * Now then, if our brethren of the Presbyterians, Methodists or any others visit here and want to preach to you, certainly, let them preach, and have your children hear them." (*Deseret News*—Weekly—of June 21st, 1871, p. 235.) Brigham Young knew that Mormonism had nothing to fear from contact with the Christian sectarianism of the times.

verbal interruptions in some of these meetings owing to an inclination to doctrinal controversy on the part of some who attended the service; but these instances were but slight and were promptly rebuked.⁶⁰ The number of converts from the camp meeting effort was doubtless disappointing. It was current report that the ministers expected to add five hundred to their fold. "If they have made a single convert of a Latter-day Saint," said a *News* editorial at the close of the service, "We have not heard of it."⁶¹ The Methodist Episcopal Church more directly perhaps than any of the other churches sent its representatives to Utah to overthrow the Mormon Church, and most vigorously did they prosecute their mission, but without injurious effects so far as converting any Latter-day Saints to Methodism is concerned.⁶²

The Jews also came to Utah in this period, and brought with them their religious faith, together with the felt need of giving expression to it in acts of worship. That they were treated kindly by the Latter-day Saints in the matter of being encouraged to introduce their worship is evidenced by the fact that in 1871 they were given, free of charge, the use of the City Hall (the Mormons then being in complete control of the municipality) for conducting religious services.⁶³ Later, of course, the

60. "There were a few interruptions when speakers did not clear up doctrinal points, which were exceedingly mortifying to the mass of the community; but prompt measures were taken to check them at future meetings, and with such good effect that great stillness prevailed at the last two evening meetings, though we thought one at least of the speakers last night was very abusive. * * * We think these few interruptions were inexcusable; but had the same courtesy been extended by the ministers in charge of the meetings to the Latter-day Saints that they receive from the latter, there would not have been a whisper heard." (*Deseret News*—Weekly—of June 21st, 1871, p. 236).

61. *Ibid.*

62. A very elaborate Report of the activities of the Methodist Episcopal Church will be found in Tullidge's *Quarterly Magazine*, Vol. I, 1880, pp. 244-250. Also article in *Utah Gazetteer*, 1884, pp. 209-10.

63. The following "Card" will attest the correctness of the statement of the text:

CARD.

"To the Hon. the Mayor and Members of the City Council of the City of Salt Lake.

Gentlemen:—At a meeting of the members of the temporary Congregation of the Israelites of this city, J. W. Joelson, Esq., in the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted and ordered spread upon the minutes:

Resolved, that the thanks of the congregation are due, and are hereby expressed, to the Hon. the Mayor and Members of the City Council of this City, for the voluntary tender, free of charge, of one of their splendid halls for the observance of our religious services on the Holidays just passed.

Jews founded their synagogue in Salt Lake City and conducted regular religious service.

We have come now to the last years in the life of Brigham Young. Judged by the vexatious lawsuits projected against him in those days; the schemes for special legislation by the "Utah Ring" the judicial crusade led by Judge McKean and his associates—it might be thought that those days would be full of trouble and yield little of the joy of life to the great Pioneer. This would be to judge wrongfully; for it is but truth to say that the closing years of President Young's life were as happy as any of his career. As Bible commentators say of Gideon, Judge in Israel, highly favored of the Lord by many divinely wrought signs and wonders to convince him that he was called of God to deliver Israel from the Medianites— "After this there was a peace of forty years." "And we see," say the commentators, "Gideon in peaceful possession of his well-earned honors, and surrounded by the dignity of a numerous household."⁶⁴ So with Brigham Young. And besides, his association with the great body of his people was very considerable, and very pleasant. It became his custom in these years to visit annually the settlements northward during the summer months, preaching to them, directing their colonizing movements and development; and in the winter, to visit the southern settlements for a like purpose, usually spending several months in rest and recreation in the Rio Virgin Valley settlements, but chiefly at St. George, where the first Temple built in the Rocky Mountains by the Latter-day Saints was now approaching completion.

Salt Lake City might be and was a hot-bed of anti-Mormon forces, but the settlements both north and south knew little and

Resolved, that the Israelites of this city will ever gratefully remember the courtesy thus extended to them.

Resolved, that the foregoing be published in the *Deseret Evening News*, *Daily Herald* and *Daily Tribune*."

For the Congregation,

J. M. JOELSON, Prest.

A. LEVY, For. Prest.

LEOPOLD ARNSTEIN, Secretary.

Salt Lake City, Sept. 26, 1871. (*Deseret News*—Weekly—of Oct. 4, 1871).

64. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible Art, "Gideon," Vol. II, p. 921. The passage which brings forth the comment is as follows: "And Gideon had three score and ten sons of his body begotten: for he had many wives." Book of Judges, Ch. VIII; 30.

cared less about them. They were "Mormon" settlements; and but little affected by the strife of political intrigues, and the plots of judges with a mission. Their people had one devotion—the New Dispensation of the Gospel—the building up of Zion. Brigham Young, to them, was God's Prophet; they were glad to have him in their midst. Few men have been better loved. They hung upon his words as the very counsel of God to them; their hands were stretched out to him, and their hearts were in them. It would be a dull nature that would not be moved to joy in the midst of such circumstances.

Then renewal of friendships came to bless these closing years. In November, 1872, General Thomas L. Kane, accompanied by his wife and two sons, came to visit Utah and the great Pioneer. All spent several months of that winter at St. George. General Kane was now a scarred veteran of the civil war, in which he had seen hard service. At the beginning of the war he tendered his services to the government and organized what is known in the war annals of our country as the "Bucktail regiment," from among the hunters, trappers and lumbermen of northwest Pennsylvania. The regiment was one of the noted war units from that state. Its leader was several times wounded. At Gettysburg he commanded a brigade. After this battle, suffering from both wounds and sickness, he was obliged to withdraw from active service. For bravery on the field he was brevetted Major-General, a high honor, doubtless, but scarcely commensurate with his brave service.⁶⁵ After the war General Kane had established his home in the mountain district of northern Pennsylvania, McKane county—near a village which was named for him—"Kane." He had built an elegant home in the midst of his estate of several thousand acres, and lived much in the style of a baron of the feudal ages, being held in the highest esteem by the surrounding populace.⁶⁶ The winter spent in St.

65. Biographical sketch of Thomas Lepeer Kane, by Geo. Q. Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, p. 24 *Et seq.*

66. During his summer vacation of 1869 President Grant and a party of friends spent some time at the Kane home as the guests of General and Mrs. Kane. General Kane added Senator Don Cameron to the party. The host, knowing the wish of President Grant to rest and be undisturbed, called to his assistance a detachment of his old "Bucktail retainers," and gave them instructions to allow no one on that part of the estate near the mansion unless they were invited guests or had special permission. And under these arrangements for his comfort "The

George in the midst of a grateful people whose interests he had served in the hour of their severest trial, sweetened by personal intercourse with many of the Church leaders, must have been especially gratifying to the General, and a joy to President Young in what was now the evening of his life.

In May, 1874, another old-time friend visited Utah, and spent some time with President Young. This was no other than General Alexander W. Doniphan, who at the crisis at Far West, in 1838, had doubtless saved the life of the Prophet Joseph Smith by his own insubordination, by refusing to execute the order of General Clark who ordered him to shoot Joseph Smith and six of his associates—all high Church officials—in the public square at Far West. General Doniphan not only refused to execute the order but denounced it as cold-blooded murder, and threatened to withdraw his brigade from the state forces if the order was persisted in. He had also rendered some service to the Mormon Battalion at Santa Fe, when the Battalion was *enmarch* to the Pacific coast. General Doniphan it will be remembered rendered notable service in the war with Mexico, having become the hero of the battles of Brazito and Sacramento; and with his command had performed one of the most wonderful invading war marches of history.⁶⁷ Naturally General Doniphan was a welcome guest in Salt Lake City, and of Brigham Young, since his coming would suggest all the distance that had been traversed,

President," said the New York *Herald* correspondent of the party, "threw off his usual reserve, and exhibited a vivacity of manner and freedom of conversation which would probably have surprised some people." In addition to the outdoor pleasures of horse-back riding over the estate and surrounding mountain and forest country, 2,500 feet above sea level, and the hunting and fishing, the interior of the home was made attractive both by the good taste of its inmates and from the fact of its possessing many curiosities left to General Kane by his Brother, Elisha Kent Kane, the Arctic Explorer. Speaking of the host of the Presidential party, in that summer of 1869, the N. Y. *Herald* correspondent said: "He is monarch of all he surveys. He is the soul of refinement, and wields a powerful influence over the people of the neighborhood. It would almost seem that they were the retainers of a baron of 'ye ancient days,' than fellow citizens of a distinguished and enterprizing land owner." (See *Herald* Article in *Deseret News*—Weekly—of Sept. 8th, 1869.)—Such was Thomas L. Kane, heart-friend of Brigham Young, and of the Mormon people.

67. See Senator T. H. Benton's speech at St. Louis in giving welcome to Doniphan's command on its return from Mexico, in July, 1847. Doniphan's Expedition, Hughes, Ch. XXII.

and all the history that had been made, between Far West and Salt Lake City—all the achievements between 1838-1874⁶⁸

Speaking of prominent visitors to Utah during this period, it should be stated that President Grant visited Salt Lake City early in October, 1875, and a meeting took place between the President of the Church of the Latter-day Saints, and the President of the United States. President Grant's party arrived at Ogden on the morning of the 3rd of October. He had already been met at the mouth of Echo Canon by the Governor of the Territory and a number of other federal officials, who boarded the Presidential train to escort him to the capital. At Ogden a special train from Salt Lake City bearing the City Council's committee of welcome, and a large number of prominent citizens—among them President Brigham Young, and many other Church authorities—met the Presidential party. The city authorities the day previous had telegraphed to President Grant and party, extending to them an invitation to become the guests of the city, but previous to receiving this invitation he had accepted the invitation to be the guest of Governor Emery and other federal officials of the Territory. The special train of the city's committee and their friends was attached to the President's train, and en route for Salt Lake the city officials were introduced by delegate Geo. Q. Cannon to President Grant and the members of his party. As Brigham Young was introduced to President Grant both gentlemen uncovered, and Brigham Young said: "*President Grant, this is the first time I have ever seen a President of my country.*" President Grant nodded and after a few enquiries and compliments, Brigham Young was introduced to Mrs. Grant and other ladies of the party in the President's car, with whom half an hour was spent in pleasant conversation, chiefly between Mrs. Grant and Brigham Young.

In Salt Lake City the Sunday School children—the arrival of President Grant's party was on Sunday—were drawn up on each side of south Temple street, from the depot to Temple

68. In 1852 General Doniphan's name had been prominently mentioned in Washington for the position of Governor of Utah to succeed Brigham Young, with whom, at that time, there was some dissatisfaction owing to the misrepresentations made by the "runaway judges" of that period. See Hist. of Brigham Young, Ms., 1852, p. 32, quoting a letter from Ezra T. Benson.

Square, and they gave the Presidential party hearty but decorous greeting.

"The President and Mrs. Grant and Governor Emery rode in an open *barouche* behind four handsome greys." The President as he passed along the children-lined street waved his hat to them and received back salutations from the crowds. The Presidential party was lodged at the Walker House on Main street. In the afternoon of the day of his arrival the President was introduced by Governor Emery to the great crowd which gathered about the hotel; and during the afternoon also he personally received calls from many city, military and Territorial officials and other leading citizens. From the hotel there were carriage drives to all points of interest including the Tabernacle and the Temple, the latter then in course of erection. Camp Douglas was visited, but by special request of the President the cannon salute in honor of his presence was omitted. The following day the party left the city but not before the ladies of Salt Lake had festooned with flowers the President's special car. Prominent among the floral embellishments being the word, "WELCOME," neatly executed in flowers. U. S. Grant was the first President of the United States to visit Utah.⁶⁹

69. An account of President Grant's visit will be found in *Deseret News*, Weekly of Oct. 6th, 1875, and in Tullidge Hist. Salt Lake City, Ch. LXXIII. The latter states that as President Grant was driven through the lines of Sunday-school children, he inquired of Governor Emery whose children they were, and was answered, "Mormon children." "For several moments the President was silent," says Tullidge, "and then he murmured, in a tone of self reproach, '*I have been deceived!*'" Tullidge gives no authority for this statement; but O. F. Whitney states that the remark was made to Governor Emery, who repeated it to him [Whitney] (See Hist. of Utah, Vol. III, p. 116, *note*). Tullidge also says that Mrs. Grant attended an organ recital at the Tabernacle and was much moved by what she saw and heard, saying to ex-delegate Hooper, "Oh, I wish I could do something for these good, Mormon people." Enroute for the depot on the day of leaving, the Presidential party called at the home of William Jennings, and for an honor partook of the hospitality of Devereux House. (Tullidge's *Quarterly Magazine*, July, 1881, pp. 662-3).

Unfortunately there was an unpleasant rivalry in the matter of receiving and entertaining the Presidential party. Naturally initiative and leadership in the matter belonged to the Governor and the federal officers of the Territory. But something was due to the City officials and the people; for the President properly was to be the guest of the City as well as of the Territory. But this seems to have been ignored by Governor Emery, whose plans took no account of the city authorities, being exclusively Mormon, and without giving opportunity for cooperation he invited the Presidential party to accept the hospitality of the Territory through himself and the federal officers, which invitation, reaching the President first, was accepted; and which, of course, made it impossible for him to accept the later received invitation to become the guest of Salt Lake City. The resolu-

During these closing years President Young, to relieve himself of some of the burdens of his office, increased the number of his counselors, by choosing five brethren to stand in that relationship to him, *viz.*, Lorenzo Snow, Brigham Young, Jr., Albert Carrington, John W. Young, and George Q. Cannon. He also resigned to George A. Smith the office of Trustee-in-Trust of the Church—the treasurership of the Church; also he resigned as President of the Deseret National Bank, of Salt Lake City, and President of Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution.⁷⁰ Geo. A. Smith, as trustee-in trust, was given twelve assistants from among the prominent business men of the church.⁷¹ Geo. A. Smith, however, only lived about two years after his appointment—he died September 1st, 1875,—and at the October conference following, Brigham Young was again sustained as Trustee-in-Trust.⁷² A year later John W. Young, son of President Young, was sustained as the first counselor in the Presidency in place of Geo. A. Smith, demised.

During the years 1875-6 the work on the St. George Temple was hastened by calling workmen from the north to engage in its completion. By the first of January the lower part of the temple was made ready and was dedicated under the direction of President Young in the presence of about 1,200 people. By April the whole structure was ready for dedication and accordingly the annual conference of the Church was appointed to con-

tions passed by the city council for the reception and entertainment of the President's party, as also for a place in the special train chartered to meet the distinguished visitors at Ogden, extended participation in all this to all "the civil and military officers of the government, the officers of the Territory, and the city, and to other citizens." (For resolution of the City Council invitations, etc., and story of the visit see *Deseret News*—Weekly—of Oct. 6th, and current impressions of Salt Lake *Herald* and *Tribune*.)

70. See minutes of General Conference for April, 1873, published in *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXXV, Nos. 18, 19. President Young in choosing five other counselors announced that "He had now two counselors to aid him as President of the Church; he had the privilege of having seven brethren to assist him in this capacity." *Ibid.*, p. 2920. See also signed communication by Brigham Young in *New York Herald* of April 16, 1873. In a "conference assembled in Committee of the whole church, Joseph Smith, the Prophet, after being sustained as the President of the Church, had his two counselors, Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams sustained as counselors, after which he also put in nomination Oliver Cowdery, Joseph Smith, Sen., Hyrum Smith and John Smith—his uncle. These last four," say the minutes of the meeting, "together with the first three, are to be considered the heads of the Church." The sustaining vote was carried unanimously. *Journal History of the Church*, Vol. II, p. 509.

71. Their names will be found *Ibid.*, p. 292.

72. See Conference Minutes for Oct., 1875, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 734.

vene at that place, and on the sixth of April the whole structure was dedicated, Daniel H. Wells offering the dedicatory prayer. The Presidency of the Church and most of the apostles were present, and very many prominent Elders and a large number of the Latter-day Saints from the northern settlements were there. After the dedication of this first temple, completed in the Rocky Mountains, by the Church, President Young when returning northward dedicated the site of the Manti temple—which had been previously chosen.^{72½}—April 25th, President Brigham Young himself offering the dedicatory prayer.⁷³ Less than a month later, May 17th, he directed the dedication of the site of the Logan Temple, the by then venerable apostle, Orson Pratt offering the dedicatory prayer; and John W. Young and Daniel H. Wells breaking the soil for the foundation; President Young delivered a brief address.⁷⁴ Thus Brigham Young began the four Temples so far erected in Utah, and lived to see the completion, and the dedication of one, the St. George Temple.

In the last months of his life President Young was led to set in order the existing stakes of Zion, usually by effecting a reorganization of them, and to organize many new stakes.⁷⁵ This work began at the general conference at St. George, and was continued through all the settlements as the leading apostles and elders of the Church were returning northward. Twenty stakes in all were thus organized or set in order by President Young's

72½. *Viz.* June 25th, 1875. Manti is in Sanpete County, over two hundred miles south of Salt Lake City. "The spot known as 'Manti Stone Quarry' had been reserved for the purpose. The spot so designated is the termination or point of a hill, which in turn appears as the spur of a low range of hills, marked by the outcrop of a well stratified and evenly bedded deposit of oolite."

73. See *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 24.

74. House of the Lord, pp. 216-219.

75. "He released all of the Twelve from presiding over local places: Brother C. C. Rich, Brother Brigham Young, Junior, Brother Lorenzo Snow and Brother Franklin D. Richards, in the North; Brother Orson Hyde and Brother Erastus Snow in the South; all were released from presiding over the Stakes of Zion, and were told by the President that their mission had a larger field than a Stake of Zion. He set the Priesthood in order as it had never been since the first organization of the church upon the earth. He defined the duties of the Apostles, he defined the duties of the Seventies, he defined the duties of the High Priests, the duties of the Elders and those of the lesser Priesthood, with plainness and distinctness and power—the power of God—in a way that it is left on record in such unmistakable language that no one need err who has the spirit of God resting down upon him." (Remarks of Geo. Q. Cannon, Obsequies of President Brigham Young, pp. 25-6, also *Deseret News*—Weekly—Sept. 5th, 1877).

direction during the summer,⁷⁶ of which Bear Lake stake was the last, August 25th, 1877.

Box Elder Stake was organized on the 19th of August, President Young being in attendance and participating in the organization. This was to mark the close of his public ministry. He returned to his home in Salt Lake City, and on the 23rd of August was seized with the illness which six days later proved fatal. He died of *cholera morbus* on the afternoon of August 29th, 1877, surrounded by his family and friends.

Peaceful indeed was his demise.⁷⁷ Among President Young's last words were expressions of his gratitude for being so well cared for and having his family near him—"You are all so good," he said. "The last words he uttered, that were distinctly understood," says the bedside chronicle, were '*Joseph, Joseph, Joseph!*' Other remarks relating to '*Joseph,*' were expressed, but in a manner that was not comprehended." They gave evidence, however, that his mind was occupied with thoughts of his predecessor, the Prophet Joseph Smith.⁷⁸

On the 1st of September the remains were carried to the Tabernacle in Temple square where they were viewed, that day, by about 6,000 people. On the second of September the funeral services were held, but before they began the great concourse of people who had gathered, by teams as well as by trains from the surrounding settlements, were permitted to pass by the bier and look upon their Prophet leader. From early morning until half past eleven o'clock a continuous stream of living humanity passed through the Tabernacle to view the mortal remains of the man who for thirty-three years had led Israel. By actual count

76. The stakes thus organized and reorganized were the following: April 7th.—St. George Stake (organized): April 17th and 18th.—Kanab Stake: April 23rd.—Panguitch Stake: May 12th and 13th.—Salt Lake Stake: May 21st.—Cache Stake: May 25th and 26th.—Weber Stake (reorganized): June 17th.—Davis Stake: June 24th and 25th.—Tooele Stake: July 1st.—Juab Stake (reorganized): July 1st.—Morgan Stake: July 4th.—Sanpete Stake: July 8th and 9th.—Summit Stake: July 14th and 15th.—Wasatch Stake: July 15th.—Sevier Stake (reorganized): July 1st and 22nd.—Millard Stake (reorganized): July 25th and 26th.—Beaver Stake (reorganized): July 29th.—Parowan Stake: August 19th.—Box Elder Stake: Aug. 25th and 26th.—Bear Lake Stake (reorganized).

77. Obituary in *Deseret News*—daily—of Aug. 30th, 1877.

78. "His departure was like the falling asleep of a little infant," said Geo. Q. Cannon, who was at his bedside when death came. "No tremor, no contortions; but as peaceful and as quiet, as still as if it were indeed the most gentle slumber." From funeral remarks by Geo. Q. Cannon.

18,000 persons of all classes and ages and degrees visited the tabernacle while the body was lying in state, manifesting the greatest decorum and respect. Several thousand were not counted owing to their taking their seats without passing out of the building where the count was made at the exits by the recording officers. It is estimated that in all 25,000 people thus took their last farewell of the honored dead.

The funeral services were simple but impressive. The Processional honors were the most elaborate and largest attended of any such procession up to this time—1914—held in Salt Lake City.

A volume would not suffice for a collection of the news-

THE PROCESSION.

Tenth Ward Band.
 Glee Club.
 Tabernacle Choir.
 Press Reporters.
 Salt Lake City Council.
 President Young's Employes.
 President Joseph Young, Bishop Phineas H. Young, Bishop Lorenzo D. Young
 and Elder Edward Young. (President Brigham Young's Brothers).

THE BODY.

Borne by Clerks and Workmen of Deceased, with nine of the Twelve Apostles
 and the Presiding Bishop as Pall Bearers.
 Immediately following the body, the Counselors of President Brigham Young.
 The Family and Relatives.
 Patriarch of the Church.
 First Seven Presidents of the Seventies.
 Presidency and High Council of Salt Lake Stake of Zion.
 Visiting Presidents, their Counselors and the High Councils of Various Stakes
 of Zion.
 Bishops and their Counselors.
 High Priests.
 Elders.
 Lesser Priesthood,
 Seventies.
 The General Public.

Ropes, outside of which dense crowds formed, were stretched along the line of the procession to a point a little east of the Eagle Gate, and all the eminences in view of the route were filled with spectators, many of whom could not refrain from tears. President Young's private cemetery is situated on First street a short distance north of the Eagle Gate, then eastward half a block. It commanded, when chosen, a splendid view of the city and the valley south and west from which it is now shut in by surrounding buildings. In the southeast corner of this burial ground a stone vault was made under the personal superintendence of his son, John W. Young, and in strict accordance with his departed father's instructions. It is of cut stone, dowelled and bolted with steel. Its dimensions are 7 feet 11 inches long, 4 feet wide, and 3 feet 3 inches high. It is laid in cement and the inside is cemented and whitened. Here the remains of the revered President of the Church were deposited.

paper and magazine comments upon the life and character of Brigham Young published immediately after his death. He had been a world character for more than thirty years. He was viewed so variously, and did a work so unique, that all the world paused for a moment to say something of this man and his life's achievements. It is astonishing, too, how much of that comment is favorable, and even of high praise both for his achievements and for his character. Others were bitter in their arraignment of him. Some of their bitterness, as is the case with most bitterness, came of unreasoning dislike and prejudice, on the order of—"I do not like thee, Doctor Fell," etc.

To say that Brigham Young had in him limitations, that he erred at times in judgment, or was unsatisfactory in some details of personal bearing or nature, is but to say that Brigham Young was human. But after all is said, that may in truth be said in the way of detraction; nay, even after malice has had its fling, this must be allowed, and it will be the unchangeable verdict of history:—

Brigham Young by the death of Joseph Smith was called to the leadership of a people sorely distraught, and environed by difficulties that threatened their very existence as a community. To him it was given to quiet their fears, to arouse their faith in their own divine mission and their destiny. He, under God, led them in an exodus from Illinois that has not its parallel in modern history. Twenty thousand of these exiles, but poorly furnished for a journey through a wilderness, he organized into industrial columns, and taught them how to be self-sustaining on a march of thirteen hundred miles. Arriving at their destination in the midst of the Rocky Mountains, he made treaties with the red tribes of men, and planted colonies from Salmon river in the north (Idaho), to the head waters of the Little Colorado in southeast (Arizona) and all through the mountain valleys of Utah between these north and south limits, covering an extent of country of eight hundred miles. He sent forth the message of the New Dispensation of the gospel to many lands, and gathered people from nearly all the nations of the earth to a modern Zion, where he taught them the art of being self-sustaining, until truly the Latter-day Saints, in fulfillment of Jo-

seph Smith's prediction, became a great and mighty people—a permanent community, in the midst of the Rocky Mountains.

These achievements write down Brigham Young in history as the Greatest Pioneer and Colonizer of modern times—an empire founder; and place him easily among the first score of great Americans.

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The American Historical Society has selected Mr. Brown to act as editor-in-chief of an entirely new work, "American Biography: A New Cyclopaedia," to be issued in ten volumes, based on none of its predecessors, but necessarily having all the desirable features that are prominent in each. The new work will give special prominence to names not to be found in any previous work, but names as justly entitled to prominence as the 15,000 recorded in its predecessors. Ten thousand of these lives are closed and the dates of their deaths recorded. Their reputation as nation builders is secured, and their places in history is already well defined. If this work delves in the past, it will be only to rescue from oblivion in order to enrich future history and give new names that will prove both interesting and edifying to the present generation, names of men and women who have done equally good work but whose environments or modesty forbade publicity at the time their work was accomplished. They are known only in limited circles, but their memory is cherished by admiring descendants, and the record of their lives and work, unknown except to the custodians of family manuscript, is unavailable to the general historian. The bulk of this new work, however, will be the records of men and women who have done their work and won a place in history during the last two decades; the completing of records of unfinished lives, and the introduction of men and women whose work began since the opening of the twentieth century. The older biographical works will furnish all the sketches that could not be improved by revision. The libraries contain copies of these works, available to the student of biography and history. The new work will stand unique as unencumbered by stereotyped sketches made familiar by constant repetition and known almost by rote by every schoolboy; and placed in their stead will be the records of new men and women who have won by their work a place of equal prominence.

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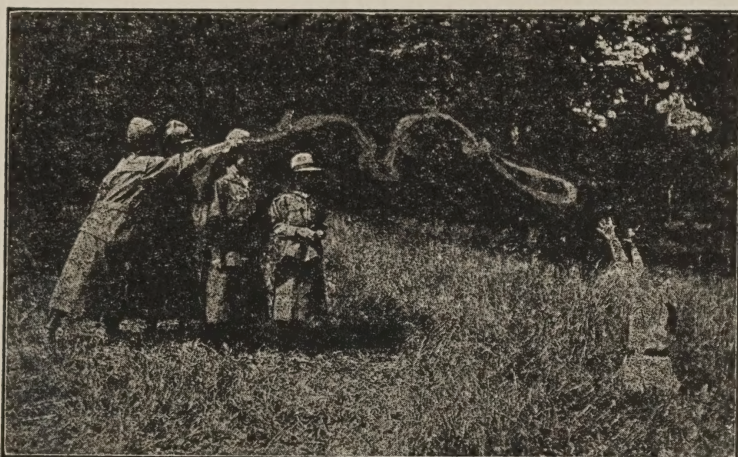
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